

IN THESE TIMES

Campaign Round-up
Page 3



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75 CENTS

JAMAICA



Can they make it
if they really try?



Christopher Brown/Picture Group

On the road
with Barry Commoner

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THE INSIDE STORY



Joyce Dannen Miller was elected ACTWU vice president at the 1976 convention that merged the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the Textile Workers Union into a single, 500,000-member union—and to the presidency of CLUW, in which she has been active since its inception, in 1980. Those two titles head a long list of appointed and elected positions in both government and the labor movement.

Miller speaks for herself on labor's highest board

By Jo Freeman

NEW YORK

The recent selection of Joyce Miller, president of the Coalition of Labor Union Women and vice-president of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union, to be the first woman on the AFL-CIO Executive Council symbolizes the strengthening coalition between organized labor and feminist groups that has developed over the last few years.

When the women's liberation movement emerged in the late '60s, it did not view the AFL as a potential ally. Organized labor's decades-old opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment had kept it bottled up in committee since it was first introduced to the federation in 1923. The AFL thought the ERA would only help

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women in managerial and professional positions while denying to women in industrial occupations the hard-won protections of state laws that restricted the hours women could work, the weight they could lift and their employment in some occupations altogether.

But women unionists were involved in the women's movement from its inception, and it was their efforts—and those of then-director of the Labor Department's Women's Bureau Elizabeth Koontz—that convinced AFL leadership that the costs of protective labor laws were greater than the benefits. When the AFL withdrew its opposition it became possible for the ERA to pass the House in 1970, and both houses in 1972.

This policy change marked the beginning of a slow but steady courtship between labor and feminist groups as each realized that their politics and long-range goals had much in common. The key event in this relationship was the formation of the Coalition of Labor Union Women in 1974, a group that works within the labor movement to improve women's economic opportunities and political participation. Joyce Miller became its president in 1977.

CLUW and the Council.

CLUW is not a union, nor are all of its members in AFL unions. So Miller was not named to the Executive Council as a representative of CLUW. Traditionally all members of the Council have been the highest officials of their unions, and each union had only one representative. Since the number of minority union heads was small—and of women union heads zero—this policy effectively kept women and minorities off the Council. Almost a year ago the Council voted to mitigate this situation by adding two seats, one each for a minority and a women's representative.

Initially, the Council specified that the two new representatives could not belong to any unions already on the Council, as that would give an extra vote to that union. But that stipulation limited the possible representatives so severely that it was dropped last August, and Miller was named to the Council. According to Ken Young of the AFL staff, Miller was "picked as an individual" because the women's seat on the Council is not a CLUW seat.

If it were a CLUW seat, at least two problems would be created. First, not all of the unions in CLUW are members of the AFL, and only members of AFL unions can sit on its Council. Second, the CLUW presidency is rotated much more frequently than that of any union. Sheer seniority creates its own power, and any Council member whose tenure was expected to be short would be at a constant disadvantage. As Miller is only 52, it is possible for her to acquire influence through simple survival.

But being a "minister without portfolio," or a representative without an organized constituency, also has its problems, chief of which is knowing exactly to whom one is responsible for one's votes, actions and words.

The politics of tokenism.

This problem is compounded by the constant threat of being perceived as merely a token. Tokens are often confused with being "one of a kind." But their function is to be seen and not heard. They are in place to make others look good, not to represent particular groups or particular points of view. Representatives also may be one of a kind, but their job is to be heard. Whether they are to be heard for a specific group, an issue or simply for themselves depends on the basis of their selection, but they are not present just to affirm what the leadership wants. One identifies tokens not by their uniqueness, but by their actions.

Miller is clearly aware of the fine line she walks. "I will be involved in all the issues," she told *In These Times*. It would be a mistake to speak only on women's issues." Yet she recognizes that she needs to promote women's issues within the AFL, and for that reason hopes to be on the organizing committee so she can encourage an intensified effort to reach women workers. Women are over 41 percent of the labor force, but only 25 percent of the members of AFL unions.

While the AFL does not directly organize unions, and cannot order unions to organize women, it still can be a powerful influence, according to Thomas Christensen, a professor of labor law at New York University. It can provide both financial resources and trained organizers to unions whose efforts it wishes to support, to the exclusion of other unions working in different areas. It also has the "power of prestige." "It's a little like a Chamber of Commerce," Christensen said. "Its power is through influence, not direct control."

Since Miller's selection to the Council follows rather than substitutes for a decade of increasing support for working women and feminist issues, it could be a sign that the AFL will move even more strongly into feminist issues. Miller said that "labor has done a good job on ERA," but should be more highly visible in opposing the Human Life Amendment to make abortion illegal.

While she has not yet developed her own priority list for the Council, she said there is a need to strengthen the Occupational Safety and Health Administration, which is currently under fire from the right wing. Health and safety issues are especially pertinent to women in the chemical industry because of employer attempts to require sterilization of women workers rather than clean up conditions in the workplace that might harm the fetus. And Miller pointed out that lead and other toxic chemicals also affect male sperm. "There is no substance that I know of that affects only fetuses."

Although being on the Executive Council clearly opens many possibilities, Miller still sees her most important role, like that of CLUW, as "the bridge that interprets the union movement to feminist groups, and vice versa." CLUW has a very lengthy agenda, and Miller does not feel her activity on the Executive Council will in any way curtail that program. Currently organized into 40 chapters, CLUW has 12,000 members from over 60 unions. It has numerous programs including rank-and-file education on how to run for union office, campaigns against sexual harassment on the job, and active support for organizing efforts.

Miller said CLUW has a "very friendly" relationship with the numerous non-union working women's organizations, most of which are organizing clerical workers. She said there is a consensus among the heads of these groups that unionization ought to be a long-range goal, but that both they and CLUW realize that for many women in traditional female occupations, joining a union is too big a step to make at once. In addition to these groups, Miller said CLUW will continue to work closely with the national feminist groups, even though, for CLUW, trade union interests come first.

With her appointment to the Executive Council, Miller adds another title to her very impressive list of affiliations, offices, and achievements. She also adds a major responsibility, whose exercise will be closely watched.

Jo Freeman, author of The Politics of Women's Liberation, writes regularly for In These Times on feminist and other issues.

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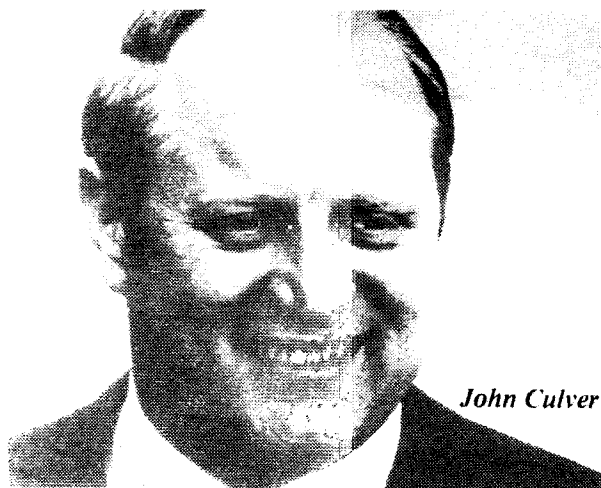
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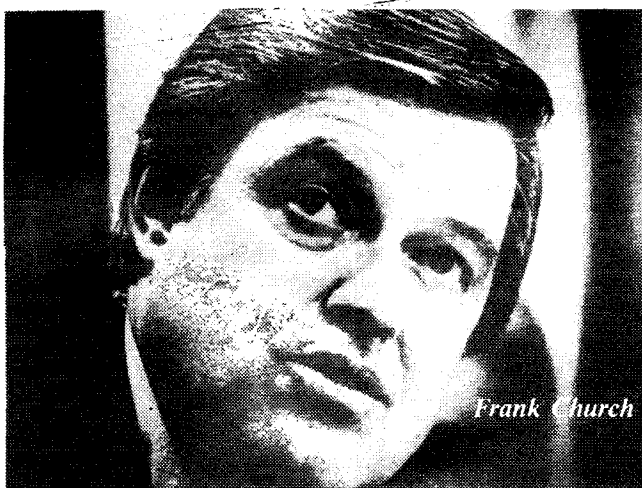
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IN THESE TIMES



John Culver



Frank Church



Birch Bayh

Liberals lag in House and Senate races

By John Judis

FOUR YEARS OF BUMBLING BY Jimmy Carter and a Democratic Congress will certainly affect this year's House and Senate elections. Although a new Republican majority will still not emerge, a center-right majority, born of the 1978 elections, will be noticeably strengthened, especially in the South, Midwest and West. This conservative majority will favor 5 percent real increases in defense spending, deregulation of business, and supply-side economics. It will oppose massive urban aid, welfare reform, federal funding of abortions, and SALT II.



THE SENATE RACES

After the 1978 elections, when three liberal incumbents were defeated by right-wing Republicans, Democrats began having nightmares about the 1981 Senate: Strom Thurmond would assume control of the Judiciary Committee, Idaho's Jim McClure would chair Energy and Natural Resources, Utah's Orrin Hatch would be in charge of Labor and Human Resources, and Jesse Helms would control Agriculture. (The Foreign Relations Committee would be given to Howard Baker as consolation for losing the majority leader post to John Tower.)

In 1980, 24 of the 34 Senate seats up for re-election are held by Democrats. If the GOP can win 10 of these 24 races and not give up any of its own seats, it will end up with a 51-49 Senate majority.

The Republicans probably won't be able to do this, but they won't miss by much. They are likely to lose Republican seats in New York, Oklahoma and Pennsylvania. But there are at least eight Democratic incumbents in trouble—George McGovern (S.D.), Frank Church (Idaho), John Culver (Ia.), Birch Bayh (Ind.), John Durkin (N.H.), Warren Magnuson (Wash.) and Gary Hart (Colo.). In addition, three incumbents—Mike Gravel (Alaska), Donald Stewart (Ala.) and Richard Stone (Fla.)—have already been defeated in primaries by Democratic opponents who could be defeated by Republican challengers in November.

The 75-year-old Magnuson is in trouble because of his age. Hart and Durkin face moderate Republican opponents in conservative states. But the remaining Democrats face stiff ideological challenges. (For a report on McGovern's race, see *In These Times*, Oct. 15.)

In Idaho, the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC) has already spent \$200,000 targeting "independent" ads at Frank Church's defense record. Church's opponent, Rep. Stephen Symms, has left the mudslinging to NCPAC and concentrated on fitting his record to their specifications. Formerly lukewarm on anti-abortion, Symms has become an ardent advocate of a constitutional amendment.

In a largely conservative state that will go easily to Ronald Reagan, Church has been running scared. He has focused his campaign on his constituency services

and his ability as Foreign Relations Committee chair to help Idaho's farm exports. He has tried to mute his liberal image by supporting Jesse Helms' school prayer amendment and by creating a Cold War scare around the alleged Soviet brigade in Cuba. And he has tried to capitalize on his "Boy Scout" image among Idaho's many Mormons, which contrasts with his opponent's reputation as a "two-fisted beer drinker."

A recent *Idaho Statesman* poll shows Church 1 percent ahead. In other words, the race is dead even.

In Iowa, former Kennedy aide John Culver is being challenged by Rep. Charles Grassley, a right-wing Republican who has strong NCPAC and Moral Majority support. Iowa is not as uniformly conservative as neighboring South Dakota or Nebraska. Culver has substantial labor and liberal backing, and he must get all of it in 1980.

Culver has hammered hard at Grassley for being a tool of the oil companies and for favoring regressive tax reforms. Grassley has tried to play Iowa farmer against Culver's Harvard pedigree.

Over the last six months, Culver, who was trailing by 17 percent, has pulled even with Grassley.

In Indiana, Birch Bayh faces conservative Republican Rep. Dan Quayle, who also is aided by NCPAC, the Moral Majority and the Life Amendment Political Action Committee (LAPAC). LAPAC is particularly active against Bayh, who chairs the Judiciary Committee's Sub-

committee on the Constitution. While Bayh's opponent charges in commercials that Bayh didn't oppose any of the 399 federal agencies created since he took office in 1962, Bayh, like McGovern and Church, stresses constituency services.

In this largely conservative state, the odds are against Bayh. He has never won more than 52 percent of the vote. In 1976, Richard Lugar demolished his Democratic colleague, Vance Hartke. And in 1980, Quayle will be able to ride Reagan's coattails, which will be longer than Ford's were in 1976.



THE HOUSE RACES

The Democrats hold a comfortable 274-159 lead in the House of Representatives, which the Republicans cannot overtake in 1980. But with the Republican National Committee (RNC) having already spent \$16.3 million to aid congressional candidates, the Republicans have a good chance of defeating several prominent Democrats and of weakening others so that they might be defeated in '82 or '84.

In Fort Worth, House Majority Leader Jim Wright is being challenged by right-wing businessman Jim Bradshaw, who has charged the moderate Wright with being soft on defense and a big spender. In Wright's district, which is highly dependent on defense spending, Bradshaw's attacks have won some converts. Wright

will win, but not by his usual margin.

In Oregon's largely rural Second District, House Ways and Means chair Al Ullman is pitted against right-winger Denny Smith, a second cousin to Steve Symms. Because of his fiscal conservatism—Ullman is a leading advocate of a value-added tax—he almost lost the Democratic primary to a liberal unknown. Now, he is attacking his opponent for wanting to dismantle the Social Security System. Ullman is expected to win narrowly.

In Houston, liberal Democrat Robert Eckhardt, an opponent of oil price decontrol, who if he wins will become the chair of the House Subcommittee on Energy and Power, is being challenged by NCPAC protegee Jack Fields. Fields, whose principal campaign funds come from oil companies, has attacked Eckhardt on busing, abortion and defense, but not energy policy. In this conservative district, Eckhardt could lose.

In southern California, 15-term Rep. James Corman, the co-author of the Kennedy-Corman national health plan (the one that bypasses private insurance companies), is being challenged by Los Angeles school board member and anti-busing zealot Bobbi Fiedler. Fiedler has based her campaign on Corman's early support of busing. Corman has reversed his stand and has tried to change the subject, but with Los Angeles undergoing busing trauma, he may not be able to.

Besides these prominent congressmen, Continued on page 8



Bright spots in a gloomy picture

The 1980 elections could yield a bumper crop of far-right conservatives who will make Sen. Jesse Helms and Rep. Robert Dornan the rule rather than the exception. But they might also bring some liberal and left Democrats to Washington.

In New York's three-way Senate race, Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman remains the favorite over Liberal party nominee Sen. Jacob Javits and Republican Al D'Amato. Javits, who was expected to drain votes from Holtzman, is concentrating his ire on D'Amato, who during their bitter primary battle impugned the 76-year-old Javits' chances for survival.

In Manhattan, former Naderite Mark Green has a chance to upset Rep. Bill Green. Confusion over their last names should help. So should Mark Green's being on the Liberal as well as the Democratic line.

In Columbia, S.C., populist Tom Turnipseed is running for Congress against incumbent conservative Republican Floyd Spence. Turnipseed, a former George Wallace organizer who now

espouses black-white unity against corporate power, won 70 percent of the vote in the Democratic primary, but a lack of funds is hampering his campaign against Spence. In Charleston, however, moderate Charles Ravenal is expected to win the open congressional seat.

In Chicago's South Side, two black Democrats, Harold Washington and Gus Savage, will win congressional seats. Savage's election to a seat previously held by a white, along with the election in Los Angeles of Mervyn Dymally, will increase by two the membership in the Black Caucus. Washington and Savage, along with retired Judge David Crockett, who is expected to win Charles Diggs' seat in Detroit, will also tilt the Caucus farther in the direction of Ron Dellums and John Conyers.

In southern Illinois, labor-backed David Robinson, formerly the legislative representative for Illinois Public Action, stands an outside chance of unseating Republican incumbent Paul Findley. Robinson is not running, however, primarily on economic policy dif-

ferences with Findley, but on differences with Findley's Mideast stands. Findley has met with Yasir Arafat and has advocated a Palestinian state alongside of Israel. Robinson has drawn most of his campaign funds from anti-PLO Zionists and Zionist organizations.

In Ann Arbor, Mich., consumer activist Kathleen O'Reilly is trying to upset incumbent Republican Rep. Carl Pursell. She may have to try again.

In North Dakota, tax commissioner Bryon Dornan, whose wit and good sense annually enlivens meetings of the Conference on Alternative State and Local Public Policies, holds a narrow lead in the battle for one of North Dakota's two congressional seats. Dornan should work well with Boston's Barney Frank.

In Los Angeles, Carey Peck, son of Gregory, is trying again to unseat right-wing Rep. Robert Dornan. Peck, who came very close in 1978, has received considerable backing from national and local women's organizations.

—John Judis

IN SHORT

Warning signs

At first, Maine's Sept. 23 nuclear power referendum (*In These Times*, Oct. 1) failed to infuse everyone with the same democratic spirit. Five days before the vote, Peter Kellman, president of Local 82 of the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union Shoe Division, posted an anti-nuclear leaflet on the union bulletin board in the Laconia Shoe Factory plant in Sanford, where he works as a molder. Management politely suggested that Kellman take down the leaflet. When he declined, management suspended him from work for three days. Kellman still refused to leave the plant, so the company had him arrested for criminal trespass. Two days later, Kathy Hussey and Sue Tenney, who are both Local 82 shop stewards, got the same treatment when they refused to leave the plant for wearing "no nuke" buttons on the job. Came Sept. 23, and more than 100 of the 174 shoe workers were refusing to remove their own "no nuke" buttons; this time, the company didn't seem to mind. Anti-nuclear sentiment sort of grows on you.

Meanwhile, over in Illinois, Governor James R. Thompson strolled into his Springfield office to find himself at the receiving end of a steady stream of phone calls inquiring about the transportation of radioactive wastes. It turned out that, overnight, members of a coalition called Morris Alert had pasted up thousands of posters along Interstate 80 and Route 55 in the northern half of the state. "ALERT," read the 8½-inch-by-11-inch signs. "In case of an accident this area is a radioactive zone. This warning is being posted in anticipation of a marked increase in shipments of radioactive wastes on nearby roads and highways." Commuters were urged to call a number—Thompson's—"for information on evacuation plans." No such information was forthcoming; the governor, who had recently vetoed legislation that might have cut down on the state's traffic in nuclear waste, quickly sent out work crews to take down the signs.

Get me rewrite

The fictional Los Angeles *Tribune* of CBS-TV's *Lou Grant* series resumed publication last week minus one fictional editor. Ed Asner, who plays the show's title character, had not yet decided whether to continue supporting the still-striking American Federation of Musicians.

After the Hollywood actors reached tentative settlement on their own two-and-a-half-month strike, AFM president Victor Fuentelba told *Advertising Age*: "I don't know about the other craft unions, but we anticipate support from the actors because we have supported them." The musicians found that they had anticipated wrong when fictional doctors, patients, truckers and pet chimps began streaming across AFM picket lines on their way back into the studio.

According to the Chicago *Sun-Times*, Asner has kept active by hosting and narrating a non-fiction videotape for the International Association of Machinists & Aerospace Workers, as part of the IAM's organizing campaign.

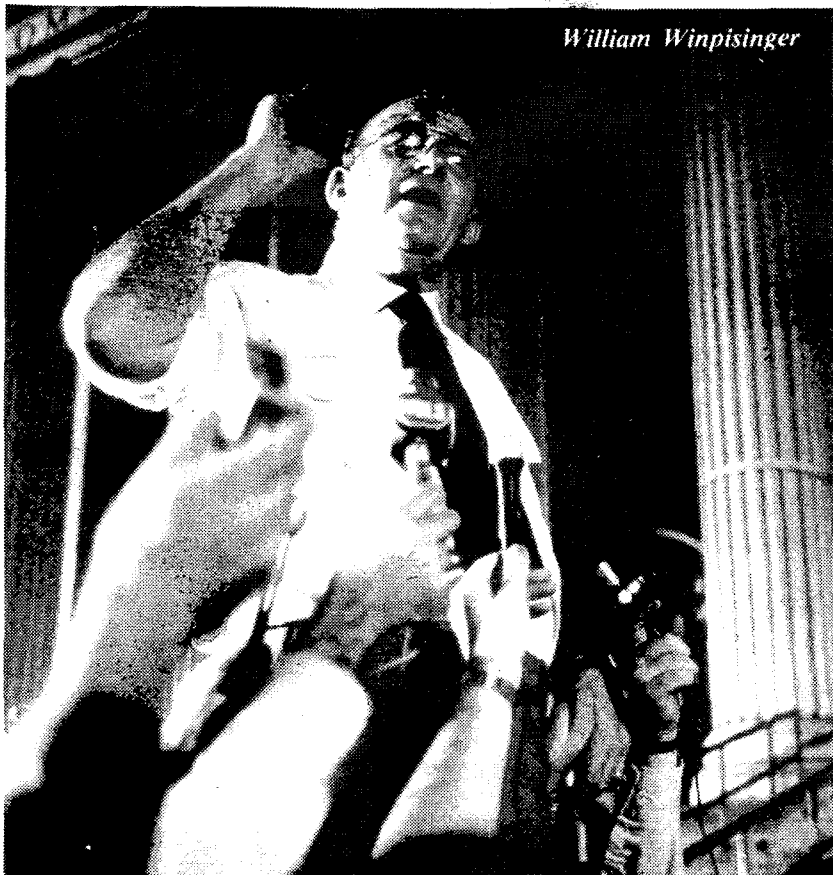
Extra, extra...

Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy has come out with an endorsement of the Carter-Mondale ticket, citing "vital margins of difference" between Jimmy and Ronnie on the issues of energy, the environment, foreign policy, women's and minorities' rights (raising the specter of potential judicial appointments) and labor reform. CED recommends that "genuine protest voters who believe in a transition from nuclear to solar power and who want to vote against the power of big business" should cast their ballot for Commoner rather than Anderson, "who has shown no interest in an anti-corporate or safe energy approach." . . . The Supreme Court opened its new session with a ruling that allowed the NOW boycott against the 15 ERA-negligent states to continue. The court without comment turned down an argument by Missouri officials that the action violates federal antitrust laws. . . . In the works for New York's public TV station is an hour-long documentary by Marc Levin on the Bread and Roses program of the Hospital and Health Care Employees' District 1199. According to program director Moe Foner, there are also plans for a musical production at New York's Modern Times Theater based on the 1912 textile workers' strike in Lawrence, Mass. Bread and Roses co-sponsored a commemoration of the strike last spring.

And we helped!

Sharon Tracy, Robin Read and Christie Balka supplied information for this column. Send all clips and tips to "In Short," c/o *In These Times*, 1509 N. Milwaukee Ave., Chicago, IL 60622.

—Josh Kornbluth



Machinists make a point: Don't take us for granted

The Machinists union has been working hard to make a simple point the past few years: You can't take us for granted, ignore our positions and then expect our support. Congressional Democrats who voted for natural gas deregulation found that out when they asked for Machinist money in re-election campaigns. President Carter discovered it when the Machinists refused to endorse him in September. The latest message was delivered within labor's own ranks. On Oct. 8, Machinist president William Winpisinger informed the AFL-CIO's Industrial Union Department that his union was pulling out.

On the surface, the reason was simply that the Machinists believed the IUD duplicated many legislative and research services already provided by the AFL-CIO and in their own union. Thus, the money—\$216,000 for the past fiscal year—could be better used elsewhere.

But Machinist dissatisfaction with the IUD and its leadership has been building up over the years. The Machinists felt that the IUD didn't enforce its coordinated bargaining efforts well (although in his letter of withdrawal, Winpisinger pledged to continue coordinated bargaining, for example, with General Electric, where many unions represent workers). They complained that the IUD hadn't pressed a strong organizing drive nationwide, had unnecessarily expanded its Washington bureaucracy and reflected little of the Machinists' ideas, even though they were the third largest member of the IUD.

But the final irritations came recently. The IUD hired a consultant late in the summer whom the White House then used to prepare the President's economic revitalization plan, even though the IUD was supposed to be neutral. And at the IUD convention in September, when Carter was officially endorsed, the other unions refused to tone down one extremely laudatory statement about Carter and labor, as the Machinists had requested.

Some other union leaders privately fear that the withdrawal may be a harbinger of a Machinist walk-out from the AFL-CIO itself. One staff member at the union acknow-

ledged that the IUD step may be a "shot across the bow, a warning [to the AFL-CIO]. Either that organization reflects some of the program and philosophy we're interested in, or else why belong?"

—David Moberg

Leftist parties get some respect

The national campaigns of the Communist Party USA, Socialist Party USA, Workers World Party and Socialist Workers Party are distinctly different from those of the "major" parties.

Take the SPUSA, the only party to run a pacifist and a nun—David McReynolds and Diane Drufenbrock—on the same ticket. On a shoestring budget, they managed to land ballot berths in 10 states. In the '76 election, their first national candidates after a 20-year hiatus—Frank T. Zeidler, a former mayor of Milwaukee, and Quinn Brisben, a Chicago public school teacher—garnered 6,038 votes.

The CPUSA, barring last-minute favorable decisions in two court cases, will hold spots on ballots in 24 states and the District of Columbia. It's the third time out for their presidential candidate, Gus Hall, who is joined on the ticket by Angela Davis, a much more familiar name to many voters. In '76, 58,992 people in 19 states and D.C. voted for Hall and Jarvis Tyner.

The SWP, who claim to have received about 100,000 votes in the last presidential election, are in good shape to pick up a few more. Steelworker Andrew Pulley and NOW member Matilde Zimmermann have made the ballot in 28 states and D.C. Party spokesperson Gina March confirmed the sentiments of her counterparts in the CPUSA and SPUSA, who said their signature collectors around the country had been treated to a warmer reception than in the recent past. "We found people very open to the idea of a socialist running," she said. "And especially open to the idea of a labor party. They're fed up with the Republi-

cans and the Democrats."

The WWP—"a very struggle-oriented party," according to campaign worker Gloria LaRiva—has entered the national political arena for the first time this year, with Deirdre Griswold and Larry Holmes reaching the ballot in 11 states and D.C. They are currently suing the state of Texas—not to get on the ballot, but to hold up the elections entirely until prisoners, among others, are granted the right to vote.

—Josh Kornbluth

Gay arrests haunt two reps

This November, two conservative Republican congressmen may lose their seats because of homosexual-related arrests. In the case of Maryland Rep. Robert Bauman, it could not have happened to a more deserving individual.

Bauman, 44, is president of the 200,000-member American Conservative Union. He is given credit for authoring the anti-abortion Hyde Amendment. And he has also done whatever he could to stigmatize gays.

Bauman is the leading House sponsor of Sen. Paul Laxalt's Family Protection Act, which among other things forbids Legal Services funds for "homosexual rights litigation," denies federal money to "any organization that presents homosexuality as an acceptable alternative life style," and declares that discrimination against homosexuals "may not be considered an 'unlawful employment practice.'" In addition, Bauman has sponsored a bill denying benefits to veterans discharged because of homosexuality.

Bauman was arrested last month for soliciting sex from a 16-year-old go-go dancer in a Washington gay bar. He was permitted to plead innocent on the condition that he complete a six-month "first offender's treatment program."

Paul Weyrich of the Committee for the Survival of a Free Congress immediately called for Bauman's resignation, but other conservatives, including Rev. Jerry Falwell and John C. Dolan, insisted that a properly repentant Bauman could still serve the "pro-family" movement.

Bauman had been expected to defeat Democrat Roy Dyson easily in his conservative Eastern Shore district, but in the aftermath of his arrest, one local television poll found Bauman trailing Dyson by 51 to 29 percent. Among those questioned, 90 percent had heard of Bauman's arrest, and 40 percent of those supporting Dyson cited the arrest as their reason.

Jackson, Miss., congressman Jon Hinson, also a conservative Republican, but not one publicly identified with the "pro-family," anti-gay movement, revealed this fall that he had been arrested at a Jackson park in 1976 for indecently exposing himself to an undercover policeman.

The revelation of his arrest prompted an independent right-wing candidate, John Wayne McInerney, to join the House race. Hinson is still expected to win, but his fall from conservative grace does raise the possibility that he, Democrat Britt Singletary and McInerney could split the white conservative vote and throw the election to a liberal black independent, Dr. Leslie McLeMore.

—John Judis

IN THE NATION

JUSTICE

Klan defendants take the stand

By Patricia MacKay

GREENSBORO, S.C.

ROLAND WAYNE WOOD IS A tall, 35-year-old man with a baggy-eyed face and missing teeth whose eyes constantly dart back and forth. His nickname is Robert E. Lee. According to the prosecution in this murder trial, he intentionally fired at and hit several of the five Communist Worker Party (CWP) members killed during a CWP anti-Klan march in a racially mixed housing project near Greensboro, S.C., the night of Nov. 3, 1979. According to the defense, he went to the rally in a car caravan with other Klan and Nazi members legally to protest communism, stand up for his country and sing "My Country 'Tis of Thee."

The defense of Wood and five co-defendants opened with testimony intended to prove self-defense and entrapment by government agents. "The communists were attacking the very society that gives them the right to be out on the street," declared one defense attorney. "What happened Nov. 3 was regrettable, but a spontaneous and lawful reaction to an unprovoked attack." Other defendants put on the stand gave explanations similar to Wood's for going to the rally. Larry Morgan said he went to Greensboro because he thought communists were a threat to the country. Defense attorney Percy Wahl said that David Matthews attended "to show concern over the communists, to heckle them and throw eggs."

The defense repeatedly blamed Klan member and police informant Ed Dawson for inciting violence. One attorney said that his client was a "country boy" who joined the Klan only two weeks prior to the Nov. 3 incident after hearing Dawson announce at a Klan recruitment rally that the communists had called the Klan scum and cowards. Rene Hartsoe,

a Klan member and the first eyewitness for the defense, heard Dawson say at the same rally that there would be "a great number of communists in Greensboro, all large people, huge in size." Carl Napier, who along with eight other Klan-Nazi members will be tried later, heard Dawson tell the Klan rally that communists had spread red paint all over the inside walls of two high schools and were out to destroy the government of the U.S. through violence. Dawson has not been indicted.

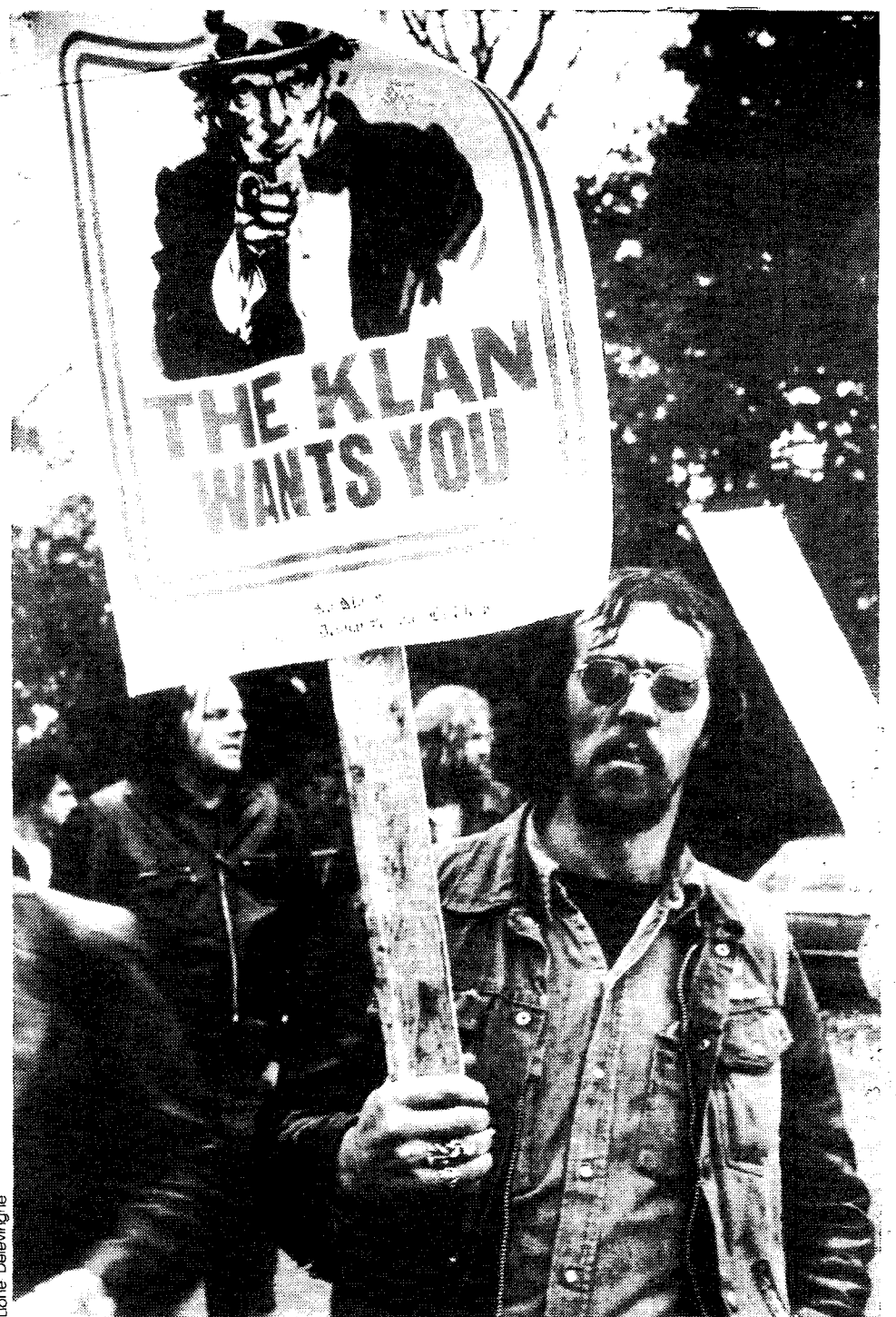
But Hartsoe also testified that she did not see any of the defendants rush to her aid when the car in which she and another woman were riding was attacked by CWP demonstrators, thus undermining one of the self-defense arguments.

In addition, several defendants, when placed under oath, contradicted their previous statements to the police. Judge James Long instructed the jury that when a witness' prior statements are inconsistent with his sworn testimony, the jury should not take the prior statement as truth, but should note the inconsistencies in judging the credibility of the witness.

The prosecution rested after six and one-half weeks of testimony by more than 100 witnesses. The state's presentation ended dramatically when the jury viewed TV footage of the shootings in slow motion. In another videotape shown to the jurors, witness Laura Blumenthal relived the shootings under hypnosis.

Channel 2 news photographer Jim Waters turned on his videotape camera when he first heard shots, and saw defendant Fowler aim and shoot a "military-looking semi-automatic weapon, with a crescent-shaped clip." "[He was] so calm, he knew just what he was doing," said Waters. Yet when the defense put Fowler on the stand he claimed that he was "scared to death—thought I was going to have a heart attack."

Fowler's gun was brought into the courtroom amid gasps from the jury.



Two young men discovered the gun, an ArmaLite AR-180, wrapped in Fowler's jacket, hidden in a rock quarry near Winston-Salem, N.C., a few months after the shooting. Police traced it to a gun shop in Winston-Salem, which sold it on Oct. 12, 1979, to Raeford Caudle. Caudle, a Nazi party leader from Winston-Salem, turned himself in to the police following the CWP shootings and was charged with conspiracy to commit murder. A few months later, the charges were dropped. His stepson, who was holding an extra banana clip for Fowler, will be tried for murder in a later trial. Defendant Fowler drove Caudle's car in the caravan.

Autopsy testimony revealed that all of the victims except Cesar Cauce were killed by shotgun pellets. Cauce was killed

by a .357 magnum bullet from a gun registered in the name of Caudle. Three forensics pathologists from the State Medical Examiners Office testified that Sampson, Sandy Smith, Michael Nathan and Jim Waller were killed by buckshot pellets that penetrated their brains or hearts. Wood, Matthews and Coleman Pridmore fired shotguns at the rally; defendant Smith used a .357 magnum. Both Smith and Cauce had non-fatal cuts on their heads, indicating that they were clubbed near the time of death.

District Attorney Mike Schlosser gave up any further attempts to subpoena CWP supporters after Tom Clark was arrested and brought to court to testify after refusing to appear in response to a prosecution subpoena. Clark was still

Continued on page 22

UNIONS

Teamster dissidence is alive and well

By Robert H. Holden

CLEVELAND

WITH RELENTLESS STUPIDITY, the leaders of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters keep handing little goodies to the rank-and-file reform movement they hate so much. There always seems to be enough new cases of six-figure salaries, sweetheart contracts, nepotism, graft and pension fund looting around to keep the reformers in business.

On Oct. 11, just as the insurgent Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) was opening its fifth national convention, Cleveland's morning newspaper announced yet another argument for reform: the Teamsters' leaders endorsed Ronald Reagan for president.

Founded only four years ago, the TDU has been quick to capitalize on such monstrosities, a talent that has brought its membership up to 3,000, including some 3,000 members of PMAOD (Professional Drivers Council for Safety and Health)

who joined when the two groups merged a year ago.

The TDU's fight for concrete improvements in wages, hours and working conditions, has already forced its members to confront the union leadership as often as the employers.

TDU challenges to the Teamster leadership in elections at the local and international levels have managed only rarely to install rank-and-filers in office. Nevertheless, the issue of union democracy has been the easiest on which to organize, says Pete Camarata, 34, the co-chair of TDU and a \$12-an-hour Detroit dockworker for the last 13 years. "The tenacity of people on that issue has been awesome," he said.

And he's not talking about a few left-wing college kids. The auditorium where TDU held its first plenary session last week was packed with the kind of men you see around interstate truck stops. Ruddy, gray-haired chain smokers from Allentown, Pa., and Watsonville, Calif.—men who've spent 15 or 20 years behind the wheel of a truck—were joined by brewery and construction workers, warehouse employees and factory hands.

But only a few were black, Hispanic or female, a situation Camarata badly wants to remedy.

Again and again, TDU's leaders invoked the labor militancy of the 1930s as the only winning strategy in an economy where jobs are getting scarcer and companies are insisting on massive takebacks. "We have squandered our legacy!" belted white-haired Bill Slater, vice president of a Teamster local in Oakland. Two North Carolina brewery workers, one black and one white, announced they had signed up 350 TDU members in the last six months and noted dryly that "we now have the attention of our local."

Speakers hammered away at the takebacks—from wage cuts to extensions of the probationary period—that employers are regularly being handed by the union leadership. The union, by allowing the patterns set in master national and regional agreements to be broken, has eroded a tremendous source of power—its hard-won right to bargain for all the workers in an industry, instead of company by company. To Michael Friedman, a Cleveland TDU leader, it's scarcely believable that the leaders of a two-million-

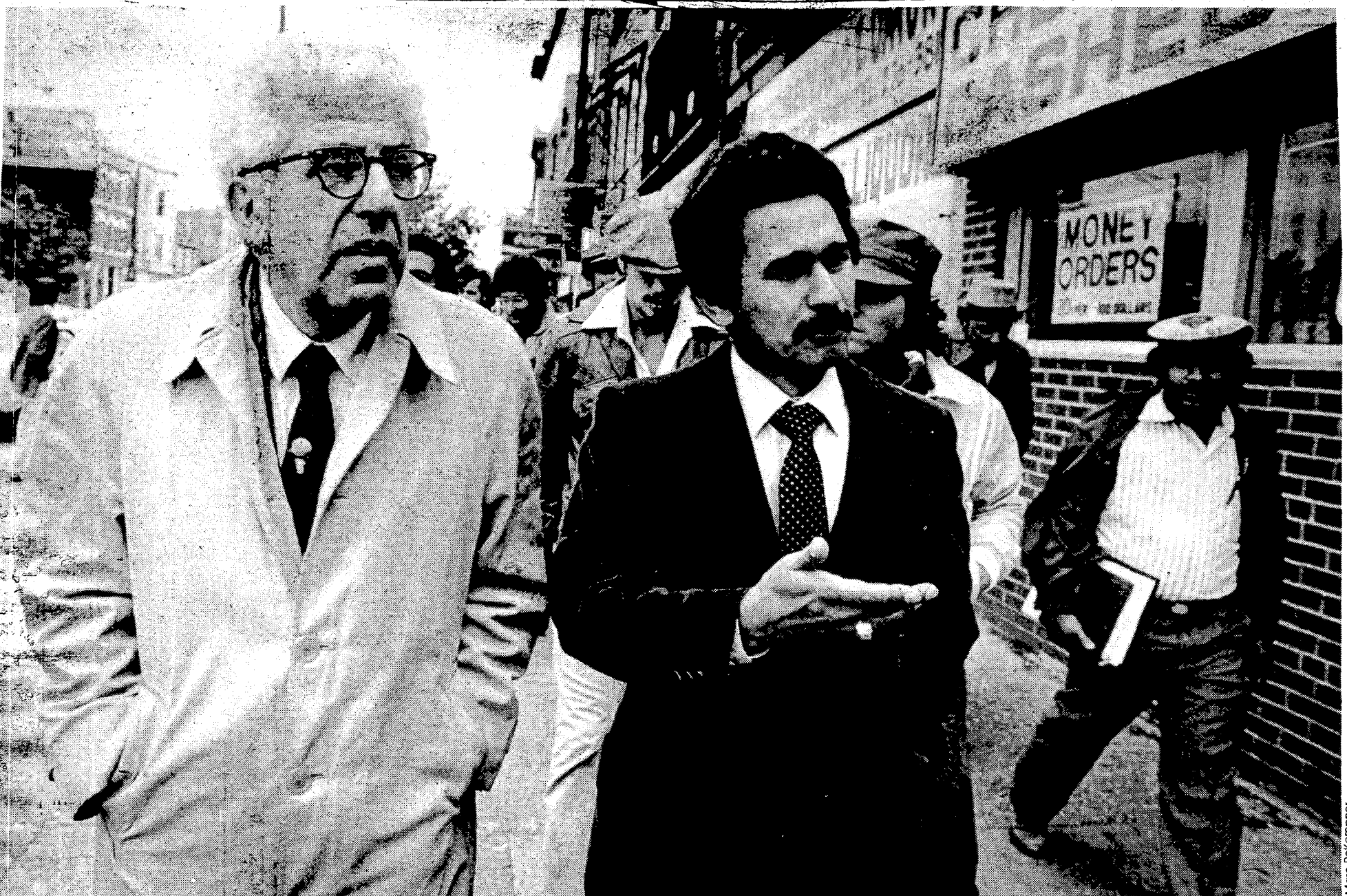
member union could let that happen, and a sure sign they're headed for extinction. "They're like dinosaurs," he sputtered. "Too stupid to save themselves."

The delegates adopted a strategy that stresses TDU exposure of all sweetheart deals sanctioned by the union, organizing the unorganized, and building for the 1981 IBT convention in Las Vegas (where else?). At that convention TDU will present its own candidates for top union offices and submit resolutions that the membership be allowed to vote directly for all officers and convention delegates, and on supplements to the master agreements as well as the masters themselves. They'll also try to limit officers' salaries and members' dues.

This TDU convention was strikingly different from its last one in Cleveland three years ago. An attitude of militant industrial unionism has clearly taken hold among its followers, many of whom are the very model of the middle-aged white male making \$25,000-a-year who is supposed to be too complacent to organize. "I've been a Teamster for 14 years," said one of those men from Detroit. "But I only realized what a union member was since I joined TDU." These are the men whom the Teamster bureaucrats quit listening to a long time ago. Now it may be too late for that leadership to win back their respect—assuming they're smart enough to want it.

Bob Holden is a Cleveland journalist.

CAMPAIGNS



Commoner tours a westside Chicago neighborhood with Andy Goitia, who was a Citizens Party candidate for the Illinois House from the district—with a good chance of winning—until a local court invalidated his petitions.

Commoner dares to call it 'bullshit'

By David Moberg

FIFTY PEOPLE WERE WAITING for Citizens Party presidential candidate Barry Commoner in the imitation Spanish romantic courtyard of the Renaissance Center in Joliet, Ill., a fairly conservative, mid-sized industrial city southwest of Chicago most famous for Stateville prison. A number of them were anti-nuclear activists: there are three nuclear power plants and a major waste dump within a short distance of Joliet. But there was also a mix of union members, students, housewives, local political figures and even small business owners. They had been pulled together for the Saturday morning meeting by a Citizens Party chapter that had been started barely three weeks earlier by a local machinist long active in Democratic politics and a junior college social science instructor.

Following a Bagel Nosh breakfast in Chicago with Citizens Party executive director Bert DeLeeuw and Illinois staff organizer and chauffeur-for-a-day Bill Cooper, Commoner was starting another of the typically full days of campaigning that have occupied the past month. He'd been at a fundraiser in Washington on Monday, and gone to New York on Tuesday for meetings, a talk at Consumer Action Now, TV interviews and a lively evening meeting with the Black United Front. On Wednesday he'd talked with *Time*, then flown to Grand Rapids, Mich., where a new chapter had organized a rally, a press conference, a fundraiser, a picket-line appearance on behalf of striking municipal workers and a university speech.

The next day in Detroit Commoner was on a talk show and a local version of Meet the Press in addition to addressing the prestigious Detroit Economic Club—where socialist council member Ken Cockrel led a standing ovation by a bloc of community activists invited for the occasion, and auto executives sat on their hands after Commoner's blistering

attack on their irresponsibility. Thursday night it was back to New York in time for a morning appearance on the *Today* show, quickly followed by a flight to Chicago, a meeting with *In These Times*, a talk to the Chicago Harvard Club, and then a chartered plane trip to Springfield, Ill., for a press conference and college rally.

It almost seemed presidential in ambition, but Commoner is still plumping not for victory but 5 percent of the vote, in order to win retroactive federal financing. The odds against even that achievement—which would have been an historic feat—have lengthened. The Citizens Party will not have enough money for TV ads, an essential part of the earlier strategy to create a last-minute rally that would make up for the late start and the tedious delays in getting on the ballot in 31 states (itself a record for the first time out by a new, independent party). Finally, the TV networks have given Commoner a few token slots, but the two NBC minutes managed to convey virtually nothing of Commoner's message.

The Citizens Party is running network radio spots that start out in a very controversial fashion: a man grumbles, "Bullshit!" and a shocked woman says, "What?" He responds, "Carter, Reagan and Anderson—it's all bullshit," followed by Commoner saying, "Too bad people have to use such strong language, but isn't that what you think, too?" In two sentences he hits the campaign theme: "The truth is we've got to break the power of the big corporations. Profit-oriented corporate decisions have left the rest of us with high inflation, nuclear insanity and a poisoned environment."

Normally Commoner prefers the half-hour talk that lasts an hour, crammed full of facts and analyses of how the corporations have caused myriad problems and how "social governance of the means of production" can bring practical alternatives.

Joliet was the first of three such speeches, in addition to a couple of shorter talks, scheduled for Saturday.

Commoner reached in his briefcase, pulling out the clothbound notebook with outlines of his basic speeches. "Where are we? Joliet? I have my bombing list. Yes, Joliet's there." He smiled with satisfaction, knowing the impact the list could make later.

"This campaign has been a political disaster," Commoner opens up, chiding Reagan's campaign advisers for trying to discourage voting and all the candidates for doing flip-flops on the issues. The three major candidates have failed to sustain their "obligation to what I want to call, shamelessly, the dignity of the electoral process," he claims. Mr. Nobody, consequently, will be most popular, as indicated by an anticipated voter turnout of less than half of those eligible.

Yet nobody talks about the disease of apathy gripping the voters this year, Commoner says. "Now people understand that the disease is not in the voters but in the candidates." They won't touch the issue behind all the immediate problems—unemployment, inflation, energy, war, racial tension, city decay, which is, "that the country is being run by big corporations and the direction these big corporations take is not to ask what the people need or what is in the interest of the country."

As usual, Commoner's declaration that "the country should be run in the interest of the country and that people should come before profits" draws a hefty applause, but he insists on his listeners asking, "Is it true? Do I know what I'm talking about?"

So Commoner explains to the audience why nuclear power is not necessary. Coal, for example, could be used and nuclear plants phased out. Weighed against the definite but indeterminate risks of radiation damage to cells and genes, there is the risk of more air pollution and probably a 5 percent increase in costs with coal. But the choice is not a scientific one; it's a "personal, ethical, moral, political choice." Democracy is denied when people are not informed of this choice or given the right to choose.

But how, Commoner asks, did we come to the point where we have to choose between emphysema from coal or a defective child from nuclear radiation? Nuclear power plants were not chosen because we were running out of energy or utilities wanted a clean source of power. They were built because the government wanted, starting with its Atoms for Peace program, a political cover to ward off public worries and political attacks about nuclear bomb testing, and because utilities were promised greater profit.

Not only utilities but other corporations were eager to defeat the recent Maine referendum on nuclear power precisely because it challenged a central capitalist tenet and was a tiny step toward claiming "the democratic right I think we should have to make these decisions in the interest of the people of the country."

The lesson is repeated. Auto companies seeking big profits from big cars created smog and wasted the nation's oil. Oil companies sought to double their profits by shifting to the Middle East and led us to our present vulnerability and the prospect of another major war. Railroads and steel mills were run into the ground as corporations sought higher profits in other fields.

"We have the answers."

Can anything be done? "The Citizens Party is not a protest party," Commoner insists. "We have the answers." Commoner insists on both new ways of producing and new institutions for deciding what is to be produced, even if the latter takes precedence.

One of his answers is to nationalize the railroads, running them with public subsidy if necessary (after all, the highway system is a huge subsidy to cars and trucks), since they're so energy-efficient. Or create a federal energy corporation that would take over importation of oil and much of marketing and exploration, contracting with private companies at a fixed rate of return, or at the very least



restrict diversification of oil company investment and treat them as utilities.

Commoner favors public support for worker-community takeover of abandoned steel mills and auto plants. Some might be modernized to compete with private companies. Others would be converted to new products. Workers could make—especially in response to government-stimulated purchases—mass transit vehicles, efficient “co-generators” of heat and electricity for low-priced neighborhood power plants, efficient alcohol-powered cars (a “solar” vehicle, since the energy comes from the sun through plant photosynthesis), or alcohol stills that farmers could use in conjunction with a new mix of crops to produce both fuel and livestock feed.

The audience response is warm and appreciative. One question on cutting back the military gives Commoner the opportunity to use his bombing list. Thumbing through the pages, he finds Joliet, population 166,000, and notes that if one fairly small 5-megaton bomb were dropped on the city, there would be 165,000 deaths and 1,000 other casualties. “If the country can’t survive, then it can’t be defended,” he repeatedly argues against the plausibility of using nuclear weapons. Best to reduce not only the arms but also the reasons for mutual fears among the superpowers and stop wasting capital on the military, “where if we’re lucky we get tanks that simply end up rusting.”

After the meeting, Commoner is excited by the friendly comments of the local Machinists union business agent and two liberal Democrats running for County Board, both of whom want to work with the Citizens Party after November. Charles Cain, a black businessman running for the board, heard Commoner at the Black United Front meeting. “I’m concerned that your message is not getting over,” he tells Commoner.

On the road to the next stop at Governors State University, Commoner talks enthusiastically about working with left Democrats. “Sometimes I think that what I give them most is a sense that you can stick your neck out and talk rationally about these issues,” he says.

But his main hopes are for building a Citizens Party and fielding candidates for local and state races in the coming years. Now the party has 7,000 members in 500 communities, 35 state committees and about 17 congressional or state candidates in this election, not counting the long slate from the affiliated Consumers Party in Pennsylvania. The polls now show Commoner picking up something like 1 percent nationally, but he feels from his travels that “the party is in place” and that the campaign has directly nourished a flowering of strong local initiatives, especially in Michigan, Illinois, Pennsylvania, New York, Oregon, Washington, California and Maine. Although the Citizens Party is picking up more local members with experience, it is still pulling in people relatively new to politics. An early effort to form Democrats for Commoner-Harris bogged down when only a few big names—Machinist president William Winpisinger, ex-Senator James Abourezk, former attorney general Ramsey Clark and vice-presidential candidate LaDonna Harris’ husband, former Senator Fred Harris—could be recruited, along with many less well-known local figures. Also, most of the other organizations on the left that could swell the party have stayed clear, but in

places from Eugene, Ore., to Grand Rapids, local political groups are reportedly cooperating closely. “The interest in us increases the farther we get from Washington,” Commoner claims with just an edge of irritation at what he sees as lukewarm response from the rest of the left.

At a shopping center in Park Forest the small entourage—now including a car and van for a CBS TV crew—stops to hunt for a fresh shirt for Commoner. It has to be all-cotton, no chemicals added. “That’s the only way I’m an eco-freak,” he notes. Foiled by the first three stores that are loaded with polyester and permanent press (“You see why we need social governance of the means of production”), he finally succeeds, also providing an anecdote for the afternoon, a typical effort to bring grand questions of control of capital down to earth. One of his favorite examples debunking consumer sovereignty involves his frustration in finding only broadly sized socks: “Tell me what customer came in and demanded socks in sizes 10-13 because his feet grew and shrank during the week.”

With the TV crew following him through the shopping center, Commoner suddenly became plausible as a presidential candidate. It was a sign of how the campaign, lacking money for TV, is essentially shut out of what is presidential politics for most Americans—the tube. Since he does not have a shot at winning, his ideas—however interesting—are little more newsworthy than if he were still the professor. The TV reporter from CBS even suggested that he risked losing influence by running, since he might now appear kooky rather than continue to be respected Dr. Commoner, the professor.

Politics is still basically a horse-race for the mass media—and for most people, even if they wish it were a different horse race. One of Commoner’s favorite stories from the campaign concerns an Albuquerque TV reporter who started the interview, “Mr. Commoner, are you a serious candidate, or are you just running on the issues?”

But Commoner doesn’t want to be simply left off in the corners debating with other “issue-candidates.” Recently he has made a bid to be part of mainstream politics—and news—by presenting to the State Department a proposal from his contacts in the Iranian government that would reportedly lead fairly quickly to release of the hostages. The Iranians, Commoner reports, ask that the U.S. freeze the Shah’s assets (leaving \$1,000 a week for the Shah’s family) until U.S. courts settle claims on the money and release all documentation on U.S. involvement in Iran by previous administrations, especially on Kissinger’s role. DeLeeuw and Commoner are on the phone daily to Tehran and Washington. They hope by acting as a broker not only to help solve the hostage problem but draw attention to the Citizens Party as a party of peace.

The cynical non-voters.

After a well-received talk at suburban Governors State to a typically diverse crowd of 100, pulled together at the last minute by a local environmentalist group, Commoner was off to West Town, a poor Latino neighborhood along Chicago’s Division Street. Until a judge knocked out the petitions, the Citizens Party had a local candidate for state assembly from the neighborhood with a chance of winning.

Commoner waded in among the white port bottles and dead pigeons, with local



reporters in tow, to shake hands (a bit stiffly) and talk with local residents. There was a Vietnam vet with Agent Orange scars on his legs (it just happened Commoner has been a leading crusader on behalf of such veterans), cynically depressed unemployed youth, a middle-aged Puerto Rican steelworker walking the street with a four-page list of recent victims—like himself—of police harassment, and an ex-Marine who (if he sobered up) planned to vote for Reagan to build up the military.

Commoner won sympathetic marks from area activists and his talk of building neighborhood power plants won at least one cheer, but the campaign visit served mainly to demonstrate lessons. “The basic problems of this neighborhood are economic,” Commoner said. “The country is not run to solve problems of the city like this. It makes no sense to see these conditions and then throw money down ratholes of making plutonium for bombs.” But the people on the street were skeptical, cynical and unlikely to vote for anybody—a big obstacle to building a party addressed to their needs.

From West Town the campaign headed to suburban Oak Park and university-influenced Hyde Park for benefit cocktail parties.

The party expects to spend \$650,000 (down from estimates last spring of \$2.5 million). Much of it must come from local benefits and direct mail, since many of the potential liberal contributors have turned to John Anderson, who has also

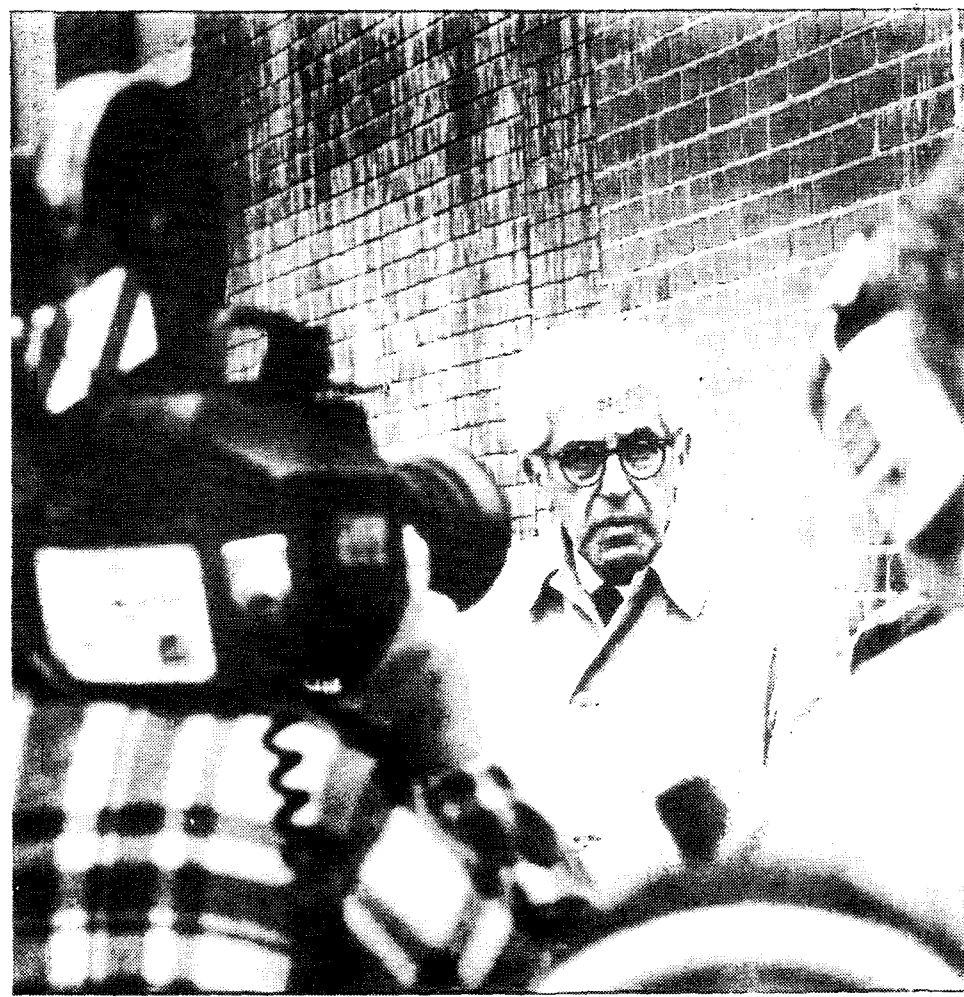
hurt the Citizens Party by draining off many potential protest voters.

Commoner makes his standard pitch for not wasting your vote on Carter or Anderson. The only way to make your opinion known and to influence the political climate, even if your candidate loses, he says, is to vote for someone who truly represents your views.

Over 300 people jammed a hall at the University of Chicago to hear Commoner on Saturday night, and gave his basic speech—with a special elaboration on the perils of the petrochemical industry—enthusiastic applause. Again, some of the most critical questions came not on his attacks on corporate decisions but rather on military spending and foreign policy—the area that Commoner admits is toughest to deal with in real life as well as campaigns.

After a brief, hostile radio interview, Commoner was off to a benefit party. With the Buster Benton Blues Band playing in the background—hitting evil chords when Reagan’s name was mentioned, Commoner again excoriated the superficial campaign and made his pitch: “We have given the people the only chance to cast a vote for peace, for economic democracy and social justice. Now with the help of some strong music, we are going to win.” Buster Benton broke into a chorus of an impromptu “We Will Win” blues number while Commoner faded off into the crowd, ready for another day of campaigning in what he hopes will become a part of an historic realignment of American politics. ■

One of Commoner’s favorite stories involves a TV interviewer who asked him, “Are you a serious candidate or are you just running on the issues?”



Races

Continued from page 3

several other Democratic incumbents—the “Watergate Democrats” who won office in normally Republican districts during the 1974 landslide—are in trouble. Some of them, like Colorado’s Tim Wirth and Iowa’s Berkley Bedell, will probably survive. Others, like New Jer-

sey’s Andrew Maguire and Philadelphia’s Robert Edgar, may not.

Still other Democrats, like Arizona’s Rep. Morris Udall or San Francisco-Marine’s Rep. John Burton, can expect to win this year, but will have to look over their shoulder the next two years. Burton’s opponent, Ed MacQuaid, was given \$150,000 by the RNC on the condition that he would run again in 1982. The purpose of the 1980 race is merely to plant doubts among the upper-middle-class half of Burton’s constituency.



LIBERAL COLLAPSE

The conservative offensive has generally shifted the political debate to the right, even in states and districts where liberal Democrats will win. Some Democrats like Church, Corman or Wisconsin’s Gaylord Nelson have shifted their positions to deflect conservative criticisms. Others, like Bayh, have simply left their voting records behind in Washington and tried to run on their image and constituency services. Still others, like Illinois Democratic Senate candidate Alan Dixon, have adopted positions indistinguishable from many Midwestern Republicans.

Most liberal Democrats now advocate a 3 percent real increase in defense spending to counter calls for a 5 percent increase. Hardly any challenge the goals of empire and global intervention that underlie current defense plans. And all but forgotten are the left-wing criticisms of SALT II made earlier by McGovern, Hatfield and Proxmire.

Even the Democrats like Brademas, Culver or Connecticut Senate candidate Rep. Chris Dodd, who have tried to take on their opponents directly, have done so sloganistically. They use oil companies as a bugaboo without any hint of an alternative energy program. They charge Republicans with tax giveaways to the rich without any program of their own for stimulating investment.

In these respects, the 1980 election reflects not only new conservative vigor, but also liberal palsy—the result of traditional liberalism’s inability to provide solutions to continued stagflation and to the decline in American world power.



REGIONAL DIVISIONS

The election results should also reinforce some regional tendencies in American politics. The 1980 election should establish the West, with the exception of some Pacific Coast enclaves, as a Republican stronghold. In Colorado, for instance, even traditionally Democratic Pueblo now looks like it will elect a Republican.

In the South, the trend toward liberal-conservative, left-right battles, which seemed evident in the 1978 victories of Gov. Bill Clinton in Arkansas and Gov. Richard Riley in South Carolina, does not look like it will come to fruition in

1980. Instead, both Democrats and Republicans have shifted one step to the right. Those that have wanted to remain where they are—like moderate Alabama Senator Donald Stewart—have not even made it through the primaries.

In contrast to the conservative West and South, the Northeast and urban Midwest—with the exception of New Hampshire—have become the preserve of liberal and left-wing Democrats. In 1980, this will continue to be true. Rep. Elizabeth Holtzman is favored to win New York’s Senate seat. Dodd is favored over James Buckley in Connecticut. Massachusetts will send Barney Frank to Congress. And Chicago and Detroit will contribute three left-wing Democrats to the Black Caucus.

These trends suggest a continuing regional split in American politics between liberal Democrats of the Northeast and urban Midwest and conservative Democrats and Republicans in the South and West. This split was reflected in the Democratic primary battle between Carter and Sen. Edward Kennedy, where Kennedy won most of the Northeast and Carter won all the South and much of the West.

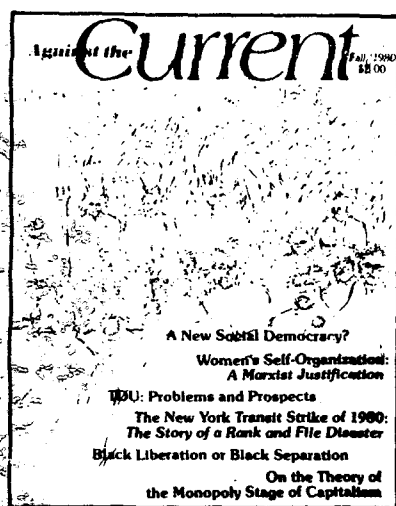
In the 1980 elections, the split has manifested itself in charges by conservatives that a senator or representative backed aid for New York City or welfare reform. Welfare itself has become a Sunbelt-Frostbelt issue with the assumption that welfare reform would mean that Nebraskans will be supporting unemployed blacks in Philadelphia or Chicago. In the South Dakota, Iowa and Indiana Senate races, the most frequently heard charge has been that McGovern, Culver, and Bayh do not really represent their respective states, but instead represent Massachusetts or New York.

On the other side, the Frostbelt antagonism against the Sunbelt manifests itself in the demand for oil price control (which even liberal economists see as a futile measure) and in calls for reindustrialization, which shorn of its more theoretical components amounts to a plea for aid to the Frostbelt’s decaying cities and industries.

This regional split is not healthy. It perpetuates the use of extraneous divisions—whether between region, race or ethnic group—to obscure the divisions between socio-economic classes that underlie politics in Alabama and Idaho as well as New York and Massachusetts. It permits Democratic liberalism, which has long been in need of total revamping, to persist as a regional expression of self-interest, while it also lends unnecessary credence to free-market conservatism within regions currently benefiting from unregulated growth.

Is “Marxism-Dogmatism” getting you down?

Have some people told you that you’re not a revolutionary if...



- You are tired of seeing the American left divided into little “vanguards of the proletariat,” each with its own dogmatic creed?
- You are tired of the arrogance of small groups offering detailed advice to revolutionary movements in other countries when they can’t get their own act together?
- You are tired of “theoreticians” who think the “correct” quotation resolves all the theoretical and organizational problems of the 1980s?

Are you swimming against the current of sectarian dogma which floods the left? Well, you have plenty of company! You—and thousands of radicals like you—are the reason why the new revolutionary quarterly, *Against the Current*, has been launched. *Against the Current* strives to be a forum of analytical dialogue for the varied political currents which, though divided by experience, tradition and often vocabulary, may, over a period of time, be able to build a revolutionary socialist organization—one that’s democratic in its practice and internal life, and oriented to the working class at the workplace and in the communities.

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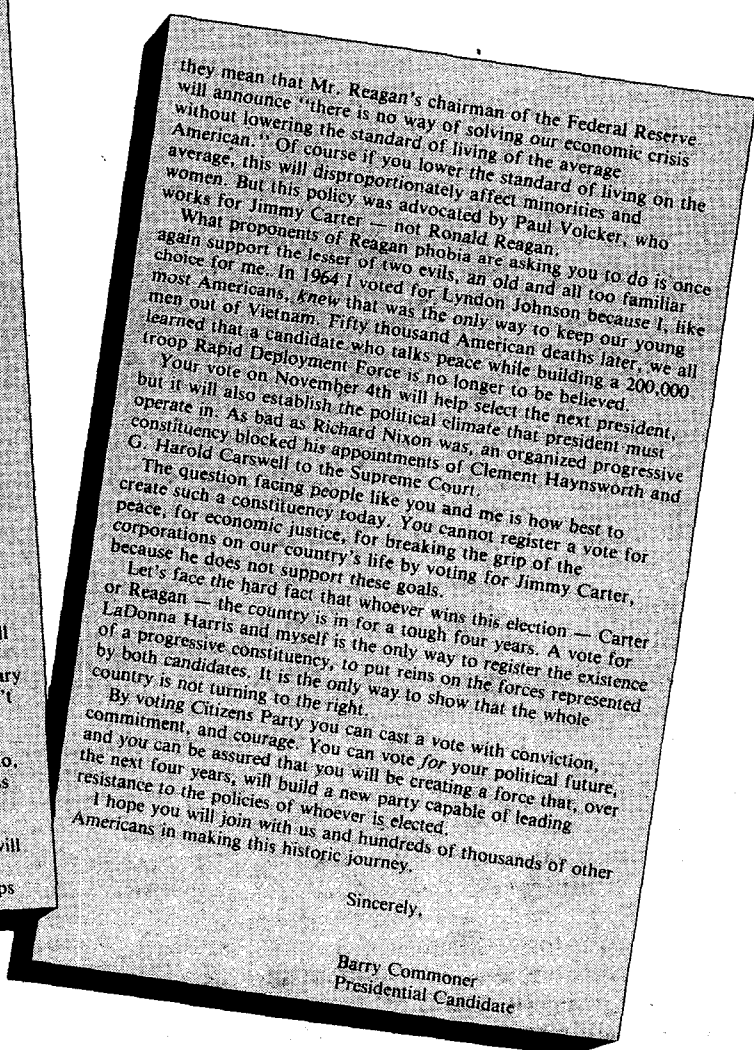
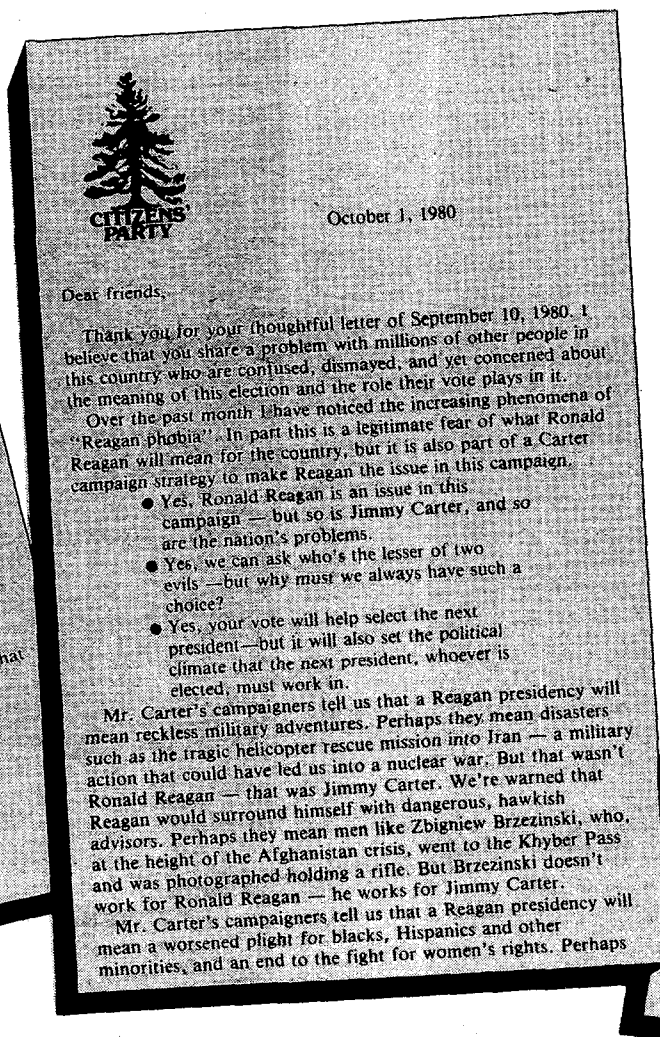
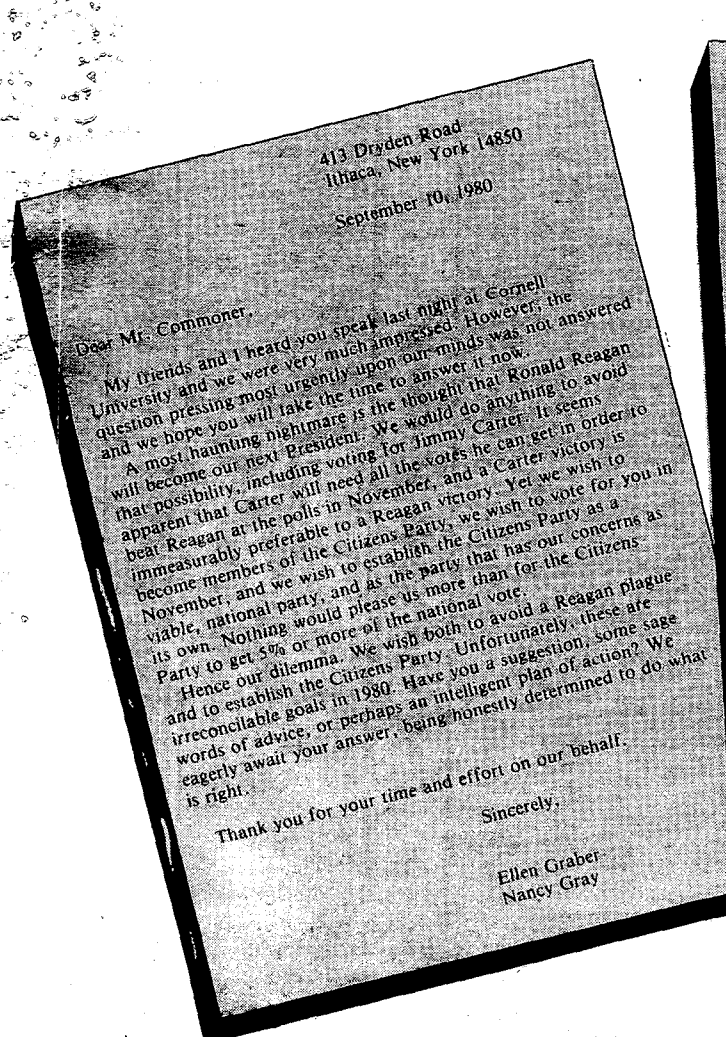
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NUCLEAR POWER

800 unionists give the lie to labor's rigid pro-nuke image

By Harvey Wasserman

PITTSBURGH

MORE THAN 300 UNION members and environmental activists concluded a weekend meeting here with a jubilant declaration of peace between their two groups.

If they are right—and the announcement did not come unopposed—the implications for atomic power and for politics in the 1980s could be considerable. “We’ve laid the foundations for a new social movement here,” says conference organizer Jerry Gordon. “We’ve now got a program and direction for a labor push for safe energy.”

The occasion was the first National Labor Conference for Safe Energy and Full Employment, a gathering at the Pittsburgh Hilton that drew some 950 participants, more than 800 of them union members representing more than 50 locals from across the U.S.

The meeting culminated a five-year effort by a small group of labor and environmental organizers to bring the two movements together. “When the anti-nuclear campaign first got off the ground, there was an image in the public mind that all unionists were in favor of atomic power because of the jobs issue,” says Richard Grossman, a long-time staffer of Environmentalists for Full Employment (EFEE), a Washington-based group key to laying the groundwork for the conclave.

“But it occurred to some of us that as long as the unions seemed to be against us, we’d never really got anywhere. It was also clear that the only people who could really stand up to the charge that anti-nukes are ‘kooks’ were the unionists themselves.”

So Grossman, Gail Daneker and several other organizers began working to build a coalition based on the idea that a clean environment and an alternative-based energy system could also boost employment. “We had to demonstrate first and foremost that being for the environment is not being anti-job,” says Grossman. “We had to show that a safe energy policy is a stand for full employment.”

Beginning shortly after the 1976 California nuclear referendum—in which unions played a key role in running up a 2:1 margin in favor of atomic power—EFEE organizers began contacting key unionists in Washington and around the country. They also published a pamphlet entitled “Jobs and Energy,” setting out their argument that an environmentally sound energy policy would improve the general employment picture.

Progress was slow but steady. Over the years, for a wide variety of reasons, a number of major international unions have moved toward a strongly pro-solar position, in particular the Sheetmetal, Machinist and Auto Workers Internationals, which cited the immediate job potential of solar power for their members. A half-dozen major unions have also taken clear positions against further construction of atomic power plants.

The inroads made by safe energy organizers were to be solidified at the Pittsburgh conference. “It’s a five-year dream come to fruition,” said Gail Daneker as the conference opened. “It’s a little hard to believe.”

Indeed, the turnout far exceeded organizers’ expectations. “We would have been content with 400 people and real happy with 500,” says Jordan Barab, one of the conference organizers.

But the conference was hardly without its confrontations. Despite official endorsements from nine international unions, the gathering opened to a counter-demonstration by some 200 members of



UMW president Sam Church led labor's largest delegation to the conference.

Local 5 of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (IBEW) who marched into the inaugural rally bearing signs that read, among other things, “Anti-Nukes Are Kooks,” “Nuclear Power Is Our Bread and Butter,” “No Power, No Employment” and “Nuclear Power Is Safe—People Are Not.”

The IBEW local, whose regular bi-monthly meeting was about to take place in the room next door, is a construction union that helped build the atomic reactors at nearby Beaver Valley.

As the pro-nuclear unionists poured into the rally hall, a confrontation atmosphere quickly led to the 900 anti-nuclear unionists breaking into a prolonged “No nukes!” chant.

After 40 minutes, the IBEW members left the hall to conduct their meeting next door. But they maintained a picket line outside the Hilton the following two mornings, and also planted members in most of the conference workshops. “We are pro-work,” explained Al Staudt, recording secretary of IBEW 5. “We support all forms of energy—coal, solar and nuclear. There’s room for all of them. We think nuclear is safe, and we think some of the unionists here are being duped by the anti-nuke forces.”

“The argument isn’t just over atomic power,” added Lawrence Rossa of IBEW Local 6, an affiliated union that chose not to demonstrate at the conference, but to make its positions known in the workshops. “We are opposed to public ownership of the utilities, which many of the people here seem to support. We don’t want our members to have to submit to binding arbitration and to government control, or to the no-

A pro-nuke demonstration by members of an IBEW local “got everybody’s blood flowing and helped clarify the issues.”

strike limitations that this state imposes on workers in the public sector.”

“We’ve got nothing against the conference,” added Staudt. “Everybody’s entitled to the right of free speech. We’re just exercising ours.”

The demonstrations and picket line led to a series of meetings between conference organizers and the IBEW local that both sides termed “productive.” “In a way, their presence was energizing,” says Grossman. “It got everybody’s blood flowing and helped clarify issues for the weekend.”

Locals against nukes.

One important source of union support for the conference was the growing tendency of locals around the country to oppose nearby reactor projects. In Maine, for example, the recent referendum aimed at shutting down that state’s single nuclear power plant was strongly

supported by state unionists, some of whom sent a letter to all Maine locals urging passage of the ban. A public power issue in Oregon also has the backing of unions there, as does a proposed ban on the storage of atomic wastes in Washington state.

But perhaps the most crucial atomic battleground for labor is shaping up in northern Indiana. There, one of the largest local unions in the country—United Steelworkers (USW) Local 1010, with 18,000 members—has taken a stand against both nuclear power in general and the Bailly atomic reactor being built in their back yard. “There are two basic issues,” says Joe Frantz, the 30-year-old secretary of the union’s Environmental Council. “We think nuclear power is unsafe, both from the danger of an accident and from the increase in background radiation exposure from all phases of the nuclear fuel cycle.”

“We also believe that atomic power plants are bad for the economy—that they soak up a huge proportion of our capital and give an unreliable return. For us, it’s a growth issue, although it’s the opposite of the way most of society perceives it. We are very much pro-growth, and we see opposing atomic power as a key part of that pro-growth stand.”

Frantz and local 1010 were spurred into action by Northern Indiana Public Service Company’s (NIPSCO) plans to build a huge atomic power complex on the Indiana Dunes near Gary—just 500 feet from one of the biggest steel mills in North America. Construction has been stalled at Bailly for several years due to problems in building the foundation. “They’ve been sinking pilings into the dunes with the understanding that they would reach bedrock and have a firm foundation for the nuke to rest on,” says Frantz. “But they dug and dug and never struck bedrock.”

The inability of NIPSCO to find a firm footing for Bailly has reinforced Local 1010’s opposition. “We’ve always been concerned with the preservation of our recreational areas,” says Frantz. “Building on the Dunes like that poses a major threat to the use of the seashore.”

Official plans for getting out of the way of an accident at Bailly have also fed the fires of union opposition. “We found out from their evacuation documents that someone would have to stay behind and mind the coke ovens at the steel mills, explains Robin Rich, a 27-year-old assistant griever for USW Local 6787, many of whose 6,000 members work at the Inland Steel Mill located a tenth of a mile from the Bailly site. “The ovens would self-destruct if they weren’t tended. So if there’s an accident at the plant, the company is going to expect a ‘suicide squad’ to stay behind and guard the place. You can understand how popular that idea is.”

NIPSCO has also alienated the northern Indiana labor community with its harsh handling of a bitter strike that began at midnight on May 31 and shows no signs of ending. “The company handed us a whole list of takebacks they wanted out of our contract,” says Jerry Phelps, 31-year-old vice-president of USW Local 12775, which represents 3,000 NIPSCO workers. “This was our first contract negotiation in many years where both the clerical and the operations unions came up at the same time. When the company took a hard-nosed attitude, all 4,200 members went on strike.”

The hotly-contested strike has won no labor friends for Bailly. “We think part of the reason they’re taking such a hard line is that they’re trying to save some of the money they’ve wasted on Bailly,” says Phelps. “The place is a mess.”

“But we’d oppose that plant anyway. Just take a look at NIPSCO’s safety record at the coal-fired plants they own, and the rest of their operation, and you really have to wonder what they’d do with a nuclear plant. Time and again we’ve had to bring simple safety concerns to outside agencies like OSHA before we could get any satisfaction. Frankly, we just don’t trust them to run a nuke.”

“We’ve heard all the arguments about jobs and all that,” Phelps adds. “But what’s a few jobs for a couple of years when the health of your kids is at stake? We can’t keep living on a short-term basis.”

Continued on page 22

IN THE WORLD

THE PHILIPPINES

Rebels put down rural roots

By A. Lin Neumann

LUZON, PHILIPPINES

HIGH ABOVE A PROVINCIAL city in the southern Philippines a soldier stands clean-shaven with his American-made M-16 assault rifle. He is dressed in a tattered camouflage field jacket with sergeant's stripes. Bandoliers of bullets and clusters of grenades decorate the jacket.

He turns to an American visitor and says, "I think you believe that I am from the petit-bourgeois. Actually, I'm not. I am from the urban poor." That said, he offers the visitor a cigarette and, like soldiers anywhere, digs in his wallet for a picture from home. "My son is one year already," he states with pride. "You know we do not expect to see the fruits of our labors."

The soldier is a member of the New People's Army (NPA). The rifle was bought from a government soldier for \$400, the uniform and equipment seized in an ambush. The man, Ka. Bong (Ka., for *Kasama*, means comrade), wanted to straighten out any misconceptions about his class background before I left the camp. Around us, the local people are finishing a cultural presentation of native dances mixed with revolutionary theater and the various NPA units are preparing to leave this camp after a week-long training seminar in herbal medicine and acupuncture. In Manila and other cities, the only evidence of the group is scrawled red signs proclaiming *Mabuhay NPA!* (Long live the NPA.) But in large parts of the vast Philippine countryside, the NPA—the military arm of the Communist Party of the Philippines—is slowly establishing an alternative government to the nine-year-old martial law regime of President Ferdinand Marcos. In August I spent a month touring NPA camps.

It is not difficult to find reasons for rebellion among the peasants who make up



60 to 70 percent of the population.

•In northern Luzon, a few hundred miles north of Manila, government soldiers have gained a reputation for killing and abuse as they pave the way for the Chico River Hydroelectric Project. The Chico Dam would submerge the homes of several thousand Kalinga tribespeople and destroy a culture that has so far resisted Spanish, Japanese and American invaders. In April a squadron of government soldiers crept into the village of Macli-ing Dulag, the main tribal leader in the region, and killed him in the night with automatic weapons fire. In July the people held a meeting with lowland sympathizers to protest the dam and the killing. They declared, "This is our last meeting!"

•Far to the south, in the Mindanao region, a group of local peasants explained that the government had entered their area and subverted the traditional leadership in order to pave the way for a forest-development project to be controlled by a plantation owner close to the Marcos family. Different groups in the region have been set against one another by a government agency, Panamin, which is

charged with development of tribal areas.

•In the rice and corn growing areas of central Luzon, rebellion has been under way, in one form or another for centuries, due to a feudal system of tenant labor. Marcos' "new society" has proclaimed land reform in these areas to be the keystone of its program. But according to a host of studies by local and foreign academics, the program is a failure.

There are more such stories throughout the countryside—people pushed aside for a nuclear plant or a banana plantation or an export processing zone. And in each of these areas the NPA find a fertile ground for their message of national democracy and cooperative control of the nation's resources.

In the zone I visited, the government had plans to create a forest park named after Imelda Marcos, the first lady. Local citizens were told not to work in the forest and not to cut down any trees. The bureau of forestry, backed up by squads of soldiers, patrolled the area to see that those orders were followed.

An old man explained, "Before the *hukbo* [the local name for the NPA] came we were afraid to till our land. The forestry men would come and we were afraid. The government makes us feel like squatters in our own land."

The forestry men are gone now. My guide on a tour of the local villages explained that this was now their territory: "It is no longer deniable that the mountains are infested with NPA. And of course, the military is afraid."

The NPA's basic program in the rural areas draws on Mao tse-Tung's theory of protracted people's war. Practically speaking, that means that an alternative government is being fashioned in the mountains. Communal farms and a cooperative production system have been instituted in "progressive barrios." The system, called a *lusong*, consists of several farmers working together, moving from farm to farm to get all the work done. "It is disadvantageous for anyone to work alone. The enemy might attack an individual and economically they are better off together," explained a local fighter.

Idle plots of land in the village are turned into communal farms that can be worked by the young people and the old men. Proceeds from the crop are then held communally and a small percentage turned over, voluntarily, to the NPA, as are some products of small animal husbandry projects and cooperative stores run in a similar manner. When the national offensive begins, the NPA hopes to supply itself from a solid base of organized zones behind them.

The camp health seminar held during my visit provided a glimpse of the cooperation between the NPA and the local people. The sessions covered everything from basic surgery to the preparation of

healing plasters from indigenous plants. The students included members of several guerrilla units and representatives of organized barrios. For many, it was their first contact with medicine beyond patent drugs sold in lowland stores.

Classes went on for eight hours a day in an atmosphere of good humor—students' first fumbling attempts to perform acupuncture on one another met with friendly laughter. Music played constantly on the solitary guitar, ranging from a Filipino version of the "Internationale" to the latest Bee-Gees hit.

My guide, Ka. Edgar, used to work as a tourist guide in Manila. He was first exposed to politics in church-conducted seminars on the economy. Indeed, many of the cadre come from a background in the church, not surprising in a country that is 85 percent Roman Catholic.

A former novice priest, Ka. Mel, explains that he left the seminary because the church was "useless." "I am still a Christian. I observe that the NPA are practicing real Christianity."

The bulk of the NPA fighting force is recruited from the peasantry. Many of the homes that we passed on our tour of the villages were quite proud to assert that a daughter or nephew had joined the guerrillas.

There is no source of arms for the movement at this time and while the official line is pro-Chinese, Chinese foreign policy in the region has downplayed support for liberation movements in favor of stability in the face of a perceived Soviet threat emanating from Vietnam. Sources suggested that a reassessment of the strictly pro-China line may be underway in the policy-making reaches of the Communist Party of the Philippines.

In the field that lack of outside support means that most equipment has to be seized in encounters or bought from soldiers. The local commander said, "Anyway, most of the soldiers in this area are for the revolution."

Ka. Jong-jo used to be a government soldier. He raided the company barracks before going to the hills and brought with him rifles and ammunition. "My mind is clear now," said the 22-year-old former farmer. "I saw how the fascist military treated the people. Here is different. We are fighting for liberation." Jong-jo urged me to teach him some "cowboy songs" on the unit guitar.

The NPA's military strategy in the area is to go slowly and meet the enemy only on favorable terms. Strategic retreat is the order of the day when confronted with superior forces and the "local masses" have all been instructed in an early warning system to keep the *hukbo* apprised of military activity.

Edgar explained that the NPA's attitude toward "bad elements," say a greedy local landlord, is more educational than antagonistic. "If he refuses to reform his bad ways, then we give him warnings. You should not tire of giving him education."

The group was anxious to impress upon me that their main goal is conversion and rehabilitation. "Please tell the people in the U.S. we are not terrorists," said a political officer. "You can see we are not," he concluded pointing to a roomful of people from the village anxious to see the strange American.

The flurry of activity in this zone was part of a nationwide effort to move the war to a new stage. Similar health seminars, for example, are being conducted throughout the country and full-time guerrilla squads, charged primarily with military work, are being created for the first time.

The NPA operates in 29 provinces throughout the Philippine Archipelago and there is a clear sense of growth in the movement, which was founded 11 years ago. They are patient and move slowly, expressing anger at groups like the April 6th Movement, a Manila-based terrorist organization that has claimed responsibility for a series of bombings in the capital in the last two months.

It will be some time before the guerrillas make a move to come out of their mountain zones. But when they do they plan to have a government and an organized population behind them. ■

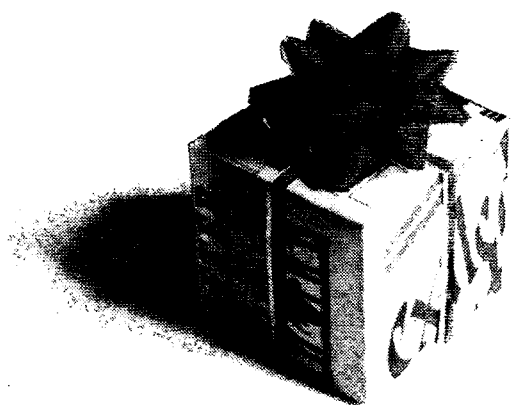
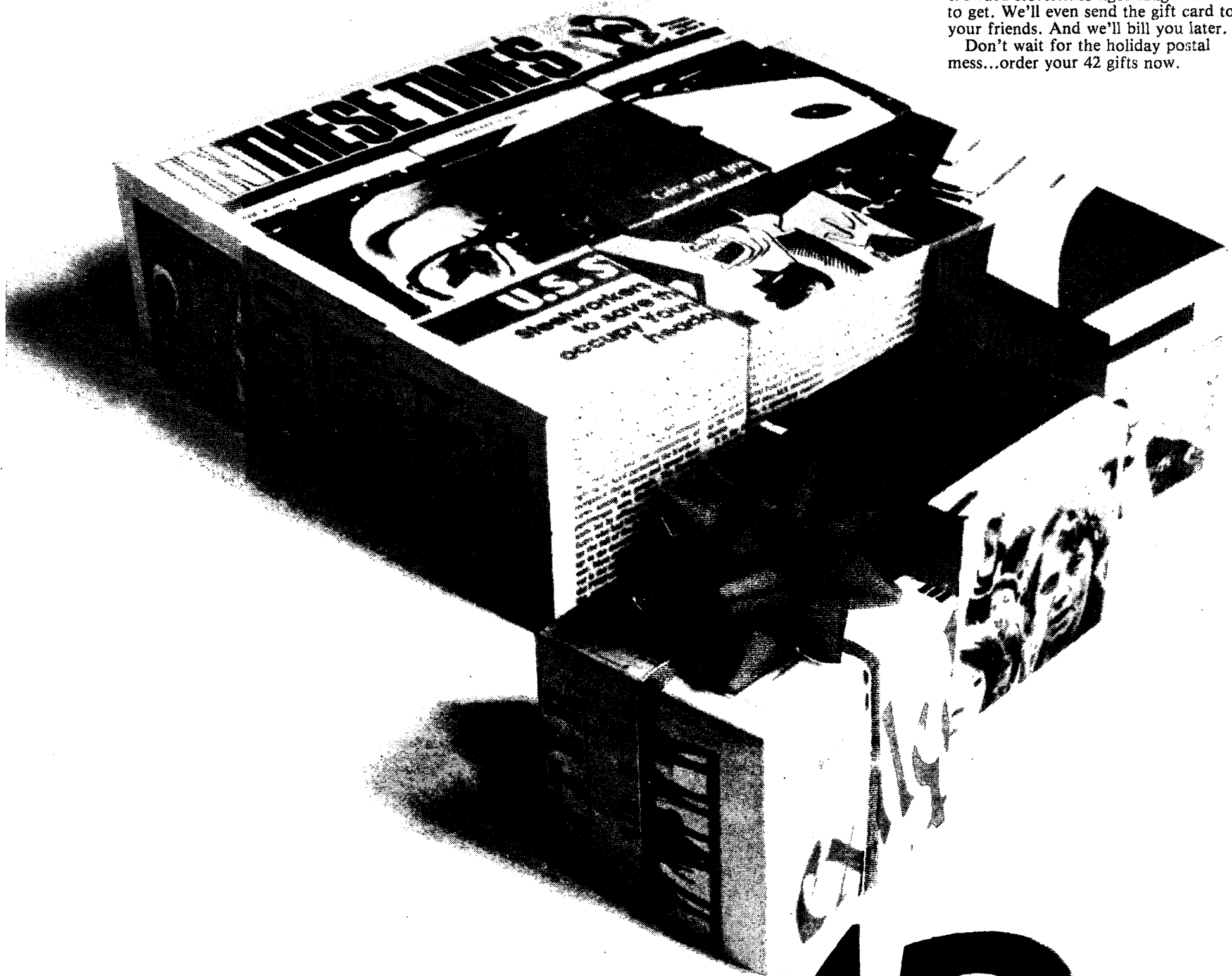
A. Lin Neumann returned from the Philippines in September. This is his second and final report.



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42

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The Battle For

J A M A I C A

WHEN JAMAICANS GO TO the polls on Oct. 30, they will be passing judgment on Prime Minister Michael Manley's performance during the last eight years. But their votes will also go a long way toward determining the future character of Jamaican society. Manley's ruling Peoples National Party (PNP), fighting for its third consecutive victory over the conservative Jamaica Labour Party (JLP), has pledged to defend and deepen the democratic gains since 1972. Manley's opponent, Edward Seaga, has vowed to make Jamaica a haven for the multinationals and a staunch ally of the U.S. once again, a policy known in Jamaica as the "Puerto Rican model."

Since 1972, the PNP has been attacking the roots of a rigid class structure and neo-colonial political system implanted in Jamaica by 300 years of foreign domination. Today, poor, black Jamaicans have a sense of dignity and political consciousness they only dreamed of 10 years ago.

But a glimpse at the economic indicators demonstrates that the process of change in Jamaica has not been easy. The world economic crisis and the normal hardships of restructuring a colonial economy have imposed much hardship on Jamaicans in the past five years.

For that reason, this election is quite different from the 1976 vote that gave Manley's government a second term by a landslide. Between 1972 and 1976, the PNP's policies, including land reform, literacy programs, health care services, employment programs and increased popular political participation, produced such immediate benefits that, despite a bloody, American-sponsored "destabilization campaign" during the last election, the electorate rallied to Manley's party. But during Manley's second term, Jamaicans received fewer immediate benefits and were required to make considerably more sacrifices.

A few months after the 1976 election, Manley, faced with a debilitating foreign exchange shortage, opened negotiations with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), which he had earlier denounced as the "central lending agency of the international capitalist system." Jamaica's tourist industry had collapsed under the brutal American boycott of 1975-1976, just as the world recession clobbered Jamaica's mining exports; tourism and mineral exports are the country's two leading sources of foreign exchange. At the same time, constant inflation in imported industrial raw materials and intermediate products, soaring oil prices and a large foreign debt—factors over which the government had little control—exacerbated the foreign exchange problem. The government's difficulties were exploited by the local ruling class and used to justify a protracted capital

strike.

In a related development, the Carter administration began making overtures to Manley. At the urging of former UN ambassador Andrew Young, Carter offered fresh bilateral economic aid. But the administration advised the Jamaican government that such assistance "would be easier to secure" if Manley entered into a "stabilization program" with the IMF.

Manley apparently thought that IMF balance-of-payments support would give him time to diversify Jamaica's exports and sources of credit, and that he could get out of the IMF program if the Fund began to interfere with Jamaica's development plans. The mildness of the IMF's initial \$75 million loan package seemed to validate this hope.

But life in Jamaica since 1977 has been dominated by the IMF. In December 1977, Manley left the island confident that Jamaica would easily pass the quarterly performance tests required on all IMF loans. In Washington, former IMF director Johannes Witteveen and President Carter both congratulated him on Jamaica's progress under the pro-

gram. But when he reached Ottawa for a meeting with Prime Minister Trudeau, Manley learned that the government had failed one key performance test (adequate control over domestic money supply) by a margin of 2.6 percent. The IMF's hard-line Western Hemisphere Department immediately suspended loans under the program and demanded that Jamaica agree to major policy changes before receiving more assistance.

In May 1978, the PNP government reluctantly accepted a steep devaluation of the Jamaican dollar, as well as wage controls, cuts in government spending and a moratorium on expanding state participation in the economy. On the basis of those concessions, the IMF extended a \$240 million loan package that provided enough foreign exchange to keep the economy operating.

These negotiations were the turning point in Manley's second term. The apparent conflict between the PNP's internationalist and egalitarian rhetoric and its submission to the draconian IMF program shattered the strong political mandate of the 1976 election. By mid-1978, the internal process of change had ground to a halt. As living standards fell, disenchantment with the Manley government grew. From May 1978 to May 1979, real wages, according to estimates of the government's National Planning Agency, dropped by one-quarter to one-third. Even with IMF participation, the international commercial banks refused to renegotiate Jamaica's \$450 million debt, thus aggravating shortages and foreclosing the possibility of economic recovery. Local businesses tightened the screws by stepping up layoffs and plant closings. The big aluminum companies, stung by the levy Manley slapped on bauxite in 1974, slashed production. Jamaica suffered the worst of capitalist austerity without the benefits of increased production.

BUT THE IMF PROGRAM DID "succeed" in one important respect: it put the right wing of the PNP in control of the government and strengthened the JLP opposition. The heavy reliance on the private sector demanded by the IMF forced Manley into political concessions to the right wing of his party.

Sensing the weakness of Manley's position, the JLP stepped up the pressure. The right-wing *Daily Gleaner* hammered away incessantly at the government's "mismanagement" and its relationship with Cuba, while also publishing personal attacks on Manley.

Manley's difficulties were compounded by an increasingly hawkish U.S. foreign policy. The fall of the Shah, the revolution in Grenada, and the Sandinista victory in Nicaragua seriously weakened the Vance-Young wing of the American foreign policy establishment and streng-

thened Brzezinski. Following the furor over the presence of Soviet troops in Cuba in the summer of 1979, the National Security Council (NSC) laid the groundwork for more intervention by the U.S. by raising the specter of Cuban "influence" in Central America and the Caribbean.

In September, Manley's militant speech to the non-aligned conference in Havana prompted the U.S. embassy in Kingston to recommend a \$10 million cut in food aid. This proved to be the first step in a new anti-Manley campaign. With Young's departure, White House policy tilted sharply against Manley and toward Seaga. Carefully timed leaks from the State Department and NSC asserted that Manley was about to shut down the *Daily Gleaner* and declare a state of emergency in order to establish a one-party state. These reports were uncritically reproduced in the *Washington Post*, the *Miami Herald*, the *New York Times* and Jack Anderson's column and were then used against Manley by the *Gleaner*. During a four-hour meeting in November, special NSC envoy to the Caribbean Philip Habib arrogantly warned Manley about his relationship with Castro.

As a new IMF inspection approached in December 1979, further oil price hikes, soaring international interest rates and other inflationary pressures created a balance of payments deficit so large that Manley could find no funds to cover it. When Jamaica failed the IMF audit, the Fund demanded drastic government spending cuts that would have immediately idled 11,000 workers. With Manley slumping in the polls, the PNP decided that it made neither economic nor political sense to remain with the IMF and the

POLITICAL DIS

The spectacle of outgoing World Bank President Robert McNamara sobbing over the plight of the world's poor in front of 3,500 finance ministers, bankers, economists and reporters at the 1980 annual meeting of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund nearly overshadowed the crisis engulfing the two institutions. The Bank and the Fund, established by the Allies at the Bretton Woods conference of 1944, have long been the central official institutions of the international economic system. Now the two institutions—and particularly the IMF—are under fire as never before.

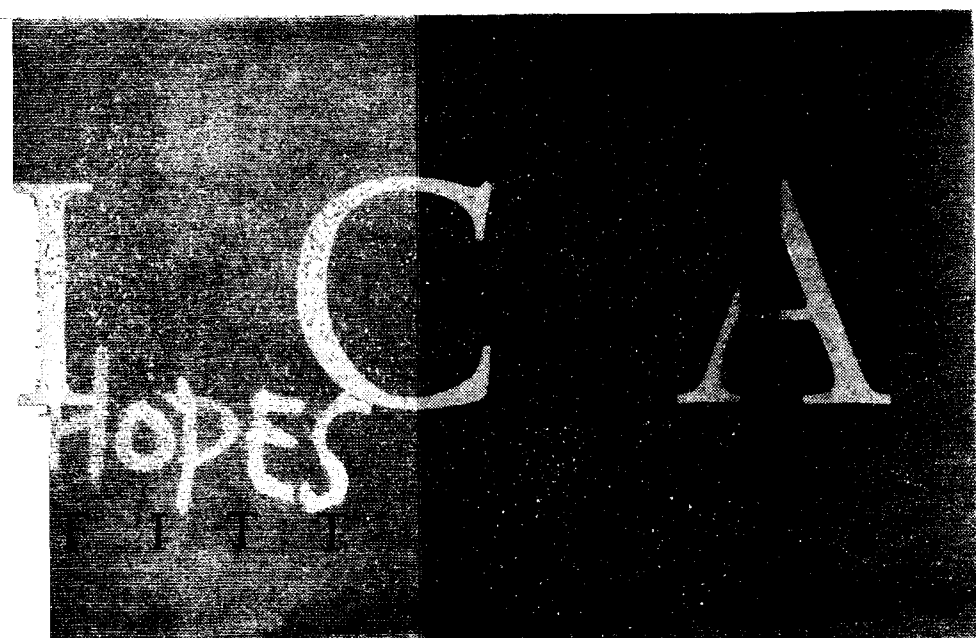
When banking officials from 141 countries gathered at the Washington-Sheraton Hotel earlier this month for the 35th annual IMF-Bank meetings, the normally pretentious rituals of the meetings were shaken by global economic tremors and sharp political battles. In the face of seemingly uncontrollable infla-



Christopher Brown/Picture Group

The hardships
will doubtless continue
in Jamaica's
cash-starved economy.

The issue in this
right-wing challenge
to Manley's government
is who will sacrifice
—and to what purpose.



government suspended the negotiations.

Significantly, when the PNP severed relations with the Fund in March and the left began to re-assert itself, the party's political popularity soared. But so did anti-government violence. Since January, hundreds have died in politically motivated ghetto wars. Shots have been fired at Manley and other PNP leaders. In June, a coup plot organized by a right-wing sect and members of the Jamaican Defense Force was detected and broken up by the government.

There have been numerous charges that the CIA encouraged and financed this rash of anti-government violence. At very least, U.S. officials have threatened Manley with economic reprisals that would amount to a campaign of destabilization. As one State Department official told the *Los Angeles Times* last spring, "If Manley shows some signs of moderating his position, then we will take a softer line. If not, then we will continue to pursue a hard line."

And there is no doubt that the Carter administration is backing Seaga, a right-wing politician with extensive connections in the American foreign policy establishment. "CIAga," as he is known in Jamaican graffiti, has met frequently with high-level NSC officials, American business groups and the IMF. In his well-financed campaign, Seaga has pledged to make peace with the IMF and seek massive foreign investments, which would mean enforcing austerity on most of the population while allowing business profits to rise. Yet it is unlikely that large segments of the Jamaican population will acquiesce as Seaga attempts to turn back the gains won under the PNP—and any use of force could easily ignite a bloody class war in Jamaica.

UNIL RECENTLY, MANLEY'S opponents boasted confidently of victory. But recent polls show that the PNP has narrowed the 57 percent to 43 percent lead that the JLP commanded in April to a margin of 53 percent to 47 percent, with the PNP winning easily in Kingston but still running behind in the rural areas. But these polls, compiled by political scientist Carl Stone and published in the *Gleaner*, do not count voters who are still undecided, estimated to be 20 percent of those who intend to vote. Many of the undecided are disgruntled PNP members who still fear the right-wing Seaga.

If the PNP can convince these voters that the international crisis, and not government mismanagement, is the cause of Jamaica's economic problems, Manley may win the election. Undoubtedly, Manley's government has lost considerable support from the working class and the poor—especially unemployed youth—because of the harsh terms of the IMF program. Since breaking with the Fund, Manley has attempted to explain why the government thought it necessary to deal with the Fund from 1977 to 1980, and why Jamaica must now find a way to proceed without it.

A PNP victory would signify the beginning, not the end, of a difficult struggle. Jamaica has enormous economic problems to which there are no easy answers. Most notably, in 1980 Jamaica has spent more to import oil and service



its foreign debt than it has earned in exports. The first item on the agenda of a third Manley administration would necessarily be a rescheduling of the foreign debt. Hoping that Manley will be ousted, the banks have refused to discuss the issue before the election.

And Manley must still find a way to mold the PNP into a political force capable of carrying out a fundamental economic and social transformation of Jamaica. Hugh Small, the brilliant, young finance minister who has attempted to pick up the pieces after the IMF, has warned the PNP that it must learn to govern with the resources Jamaica has at its disposal. Too often, the PNP has relied on increased government expenditures or artificial wage increases when popular support lagged—something the

country can no longer afford.

For Jamaica, the question is not whether there must be a prolonged period of austerity and sacrifice, but rather, what purpose that austerity will serve and how the sacrifices will be distributed. If Seaga wins, the ideology of austerity will be exploited to make the masses accept less in hopes of restoring the conditions for capitalist accumulation. A PNP victory, on the other hand, will buy time for the government to undertake the sacrifices necessary to continue a transformation of Jamaican society.

Michael Moffitt is a fellow of the Institute for Policy Studies and the co-editor (with Robert Borosage) of The International Monetary System and the New International Order.

WORLD LENDING

tion, burdensome oil price increases and recession in the industrial countries, the oil-importing Third World countries are seeking financial support on an unprecedented scale. This year, these countries will register a collective balance of payments deficit of nearly \$70 billion, which is scheduled to rise to \$80 billion next year. As the IMF's recent *World Economic Outlook* noted, "The world economic outlook is rather grim."

All this has thrown a greater burden than ever on the Bank and the IMF. Unlike the period following the first oil shock of 1973-74, the private multinational banks—the chief recipients of surplus OPEC money—are no longer willing to engage in an orgy of new lending to Third World borrowers.

This time around the banks want a government-sponsored safety net to guard against potential defaults by Third World countries that are sinking further

and further into debt. In theory the IMF could play this role nicely, but in fact, the Fund is not beset by uncertainties that threaten its future as the world's main monetary institutions.

The most explosive issue may be the struggle between the industrialized countries and the Arab states over the question of observer status in the Bank and the Fund for the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO). The U.S. and the rich OPEC countries—Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Iraq, Qatar and the United Arab Emirates—have been fighting over the PLO's status since April, and the battle came to a head at the annual meetings.

With Arab money crucial to the IMF's plans for financing the poor countries, and with the new \$5 billion U.S. contribution to the Fund languishing in Congress, IMF managers had to do some fancy footwork to keep the PLO out without embarrassing the Saudis.

Caught in the middle was the articulate finance minister of Tanzania, Amir H. Jamal, who chaired this year's meetings. Jamal exercised his prerogative to announce over the summer that he would invite the PLO. When a flurry of cables between Washington and Tanzania failed to convince Jamal to change his mind, McNamara convened a meeting of the Bank Executive Board, which voted to exclude the PLO. Jamal then barred attendance of other observers. In August, when IMF managing director Jacques de Larosiere visited the Persian Gulf, he was told by the OPEC countries that there would be no more loans to the Fund or Bank until the PLO issue was resolved.

The time spent trying to decide the PLO issue at this year's meeting was actually greater than that spent on monetary problems. In the end, mainly as a sop to the Saudi, a body called the Joint Procedures Committees appointed representatives of nine countries to examine the status of IMF-World Bank observers.

Meanwhile, the oil-importing Third World countries found themselves kick-

ed around like a political football between the West and OPEC. The West will offer them no new help until they start criticizing OPEC's recent oil price hikes. But the oil-importers fear that OPEC may react to such criticism by cutting back the assistance they currently dispense to the Third World.

The poor countries have little power within the IMF. The Fund's executive board is controlled by the U.S., Britain, France, Germany and Japan, which wield approximately 40 percent of the total voting power in the institution. "This meeting was a joke, a farce," one Third World attendee said.

For their part, U.S. officials fumed at the way Jamal used the chair to articulate Third World concerns. "Why not accept," the soft-spoken Tanzanian asked, "that the world is a vastly different place from the time of Bretton Woods, and that the most needed structural change today is in the Bretton Woods institutions themselves."

—Michael Moffitt

EDITORIAL



Playing with fire in the Middle East

The Iraqi invasion of Iran has increased the dangers inherent in Soviet-American rivalry in the Middle East, and has strengthened the apparent intention of some American policy makers to revive old-style imperial intervention in the region.

On the surface, the war is an Iraqi attempt to make good its claims to jurisdiction over small border areas and the Shatt al-Arab River that separate Iran from Iraq just north of the Persian Gulf. Iranian provocations—such as Khomeini's call to Shi'ite Iraqis to revolt—and deep divisions within Iran, especially the disaffection of ethnic Kurds, Arabs, Turkomen and Baluchi, presented the occasion for war and what appeared to be the opportunity for a quick victory.

Beyond that, as Fred Halliday has pointed out (*In These Times*, Oct. 8), the Iraqis are seeking "another Suez," a political victory comparable to that won by Abdul Gamal Nasser in 1956 when Egypt regained control of the canal. A comparable feat today requires the destruction of Iran as the predominant power in the Gulf and the assertion of Iraqi domination in the Arab world.

There has been speculation that the United States was instrumental in spurring Iraq to attempt the overthrow of Khomeini and his anti-American regime. And, indeed, the CIA has admitted that during the past year it has helped to train anti-Khomeini forces in Iraq—estimated by the West German magazine *Stern* to number 45,000—and that it has set up radio stations there to broadcast anti-government propaganda into Iran. Evidence beyond this is scanty, but given the CIA's past record, especially in relation to Iran, the possibility of a covert U.S. role cannot be ruled out.

Opportunity knocks.

But whether or not the U.S. has played a direct role in encouraging Iraq's aggression—and our guess is that it hasn't—the war has become an occasion to beef up American forces and the American strategic position in the Middle East.

This process began well before the outbreak of the current hostilities. After the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, the U.S. built up its Rapid Deployment Force

and targeted it for the Persian Gulf. It also strengthened its fleet in the Indian Ocean. *Business Week* reported in July that there were only 24 American warships in the area compared to 32 Soviet ships. By October, the U.S. fleet had increased to 42. As Secretary of Defense Harold Brown has pointed out, with a powerful fleet in the Arabian Sea, the recent deployment of phantom jets to Egypt, the dispatch of supply ships for Marine brigades to the Indian Ocean and new base arrangements with Somalia, Kenya, Oman and Egypt, the U.S. has already made "a pretty good beginning" toward being able to deploy its forces near the Persian Gulf. As a senior State Department official told *Newsweek* recently, this effort to create a Persian Gulf security system is "as extensive and enduring a challenge as we faced after World War II, when we had to restore Europe."

The current war, despite the dangers it poses to the West's oil supplies, has made this task easier. Earlier in the year, the Saudis had taken the position that the U.S. should keep its forces out of the Persian Gulf region. But fearful of Iranian air attacks after harboring Iraqi planes on their airfields at the start of the war, the Saudis contacted the CIA on Sept. 26 to ask for U.S. help. Washington informed the Saudis through General David Jones—chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff who coincidentally was visiting Saudi Arabia—that they would send four AWACs. Some 300 American airmen accompanied the AWACs. On Oct. 6, the *Washington Post* reported the U.S. was sending a mobile ground radar station and some 96 more airmen to Saudi Arabia, and on the 12th, the *New York Times* reported that the Defense Department had sent two KC-135 aerial refueling planes.

The deployment of American troops has dramatized American readiness to use military force to protect oil supplies in the Persian Gulf. As a Pentagon spokesman observed, it also "opens up the door for much more extensive military cooperation with the Saudis." And the U.S. offer of similar assistance to other "non-belligerent friends in the area who feel threatened by the

conflict," may open the gate for U.S. military presence in other Gulf states.

Whether or not U.S. military presence in the Gulf area provides greater protection for oil supplies, it places American troops in one of the most volatile regions in the world and greatly increases the

A stable peace in the Middle East requires the cooperation of the U.S. and the USSR in support of demilitarization.

chances of American involvement in any military conflict that may flare up.

The other player.

All of this, of course, also increases the danger of confrontation with the Soviet Union, which also has been supplying arms to Middle East nations, and which also has warships in the area. Soviet interest in the Middle East has less to do with oil than with its own security, because of its common border with Iran, and, so far, the Soviets have acted with restraint, while trying to enhance their influence with both Iraq and Iran.

Since the fall of the Shah, the Soviets have attempted to form more amiable ties with Iran. Considering the tension on their borders with China, Afghanistan and Poland, their probable intention is simply to foster their own security. But so far these attempts have been thwarted by the Khomeini regime, which has been particularly vociferous in opposition to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan. Now the Soviets have been seeking to gain favor with Iran by promising that there will be no large-scale resupply of Iraq (a promise they appear to be keeping) and by offering military aid to Iran, which has so far been rejected.

At the same time, the Soviets have sought to regain some lost ground in Iraq, which has been steadily turning to the U.S. in recent months despite the friendship treaty between Iraq and the Soviet Union. Iraq is equipped almost entirely with Soviet arms, and it is likely that there is some small scale resupply there, as well as shipments of food and other non-military supplies that the Soviets have been observed shipping to Iraq through the port of Aqaba in Jordan.

With the Soviets and the U.S. jockeying for advantage—and with Jordan and Saudi Arabia lining up with Iraq as Libya and Syria line up with Iran—a dangerously volatile situation has been created. In the good old days, before the post-World War II collapse of the British Empire, Britain provided what a recent commentator in the *New York Times* euphemistically calls "internal security in the Gulf region." After the British withdrew, the U.S. set up Iran under the Shah (along with Israel) to be "Gulf policemen."

Now, with the Shah gone and an anti-American regime in his place, American policy makers seem intent on stepping back into the old British imperial boots. But things have changed, both in the region and in the overall international balance of power. No solution is possible today that does not recognize the emergence of the various oil-rich nations in the Middle East as autonomous and self-determining entities or that does not recognize the legitimacy and inevitability of a major role for the Soviets in the region.

The U.S. helped perpetuate insecurity and volatility in the area by excluding the Soviets in what became the Camp David accords. To attempt again, in an even more dangerous situation, unilaterally to impose stability can only lead to greater volatility and greater dangers for all concerned. Instead of moving back to the bad old days of imperial domination by a preeminent power, the U.S., if it seeks peace and security, must sit down with the Soviet Union and work out a policy of mutual non-intervention that will allow a process of demilitarization and the working out of differences among the nations of the Middle East to begin. ■

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

A BIT SILLY

ROBERTA LYNCH'S PRETENTIOUS AND paranoid analysis of female fashion trends (*ITT*, Oct. 1) calls for a reply.

(1) What does Lynch suggest I do with the wide ties, bell-bottom pants and padded shoulder, double-breasted jackets that populate the deeper recesses of my closet?

(2) What does she suggest that the fashion stores do with the huge stocks of unsold polka-dot, high-heeled shoes and silk skirts that were last year's fashion rage and now can't be given away?

(3) How does she suggest we counsel Diane Von Furstenberg, Anne Klein, Betsey Johnson, Noriko and other fe-

of men in power) relative to female dress. Two other principles apply: (1) to conceal the imperfections of the male body and to concentrate attention on the cerebral zone as the only visible portion of the man's total corpus; (2) to stick to the sober and "serious" hues of grey, brown, black and dark blue. A display of emotionality or enthusiasm in male business clothing would be taken as a sign of instability and frivolity.

Women's fashions generally counter the rules of gaining respect for intelligence and sober judgment. Women's dress exaggerates the frailties of the body: the "cleavage," the bare leg or back, the stockings-nude foot on a pedestal. It also experiments with bright colors this year, or diagonal lines and slits next year. It imposes a fickleness



"WHEN YOU CAN'T SEE THE TREES FOR THE SMOG, THEN I SAY IT'S TIME TO GET RID OF THE DAMN TREES!"

male fashion experts who are being dominated by their male advisers and who have become infected by a terrible disease: fear of men?

I would suggest that the yearly vagaries of the fashion industry—for both men and women—are less attributable to the wax and wane of female anxieties and exploitative male designers than to the pressing desire of clothing manufacturers to make bundles of cash.

If you feel a need to discover an enemy in all this, go after greed; the designers do operate in a capitalist economy. To suggest that neat make-up and tailored suits reflect current conservative trends is a truism; to suggest that leftist Americans should take up the banner of Susan Griffin and storm the bastille (undoubtedly filled to the brim with fashion designers) is, don't you think, a little bit silly.

—Jon Entine
Chicago

CLOTHES MAKE THE WOMAN

ROBERTA LYNCH'S COMMENTS (*ITT*, Oct. 1) on women's clothing were disappointing. First, she bypassed the question of why there should even be a distinction between "men's clothing" and "women's clothing," and what it means to society to maintain glaring differences in male and female dress. Does not an instant identification of sex and gender via clothing support a system of sexual apartheid, licensing mobility for some and harassment for others, much as pass cards?

Second, she skips over the class distinction in male clothing when she claims it takes little energy. Maybe the blue-collar uniform requires little care, but the businessman's wardrobe does require careful selection, maintenance and investment. Comfort alone does not define male dress (particularly that

and triviality upon the character of the woman who seeks to dress "as a woman."

I share Lynch's dismay at seeing women hoodwinked into following new fashions that advertise powerlessness. I believe Lynch is partially right in suspecting that these fashions are accepted by women who, sensing a backlash, are now seeking to appease and reassure men that they really do not want all that much freedom. I see the "young lady" tottering in high heels and strapless evening gown as an individual signalling her need for a well-heeled male, fully clothed, to escort her, give her a shoulder to lean on, to "protect" and support her. There is a lot to be done, and we need to stand on our own feet (not high heels) to do it.

—Laurel Bossen
Pittsburgh

A MINUS

DAVID MOBERG'S "CRACKING CAMPUS Cynicism" (*ITT*, Sept. 24) was well done, minus one major area. There was no mention of the blooming of state student associations.

These organizations now command the attention of educators, state officials and students in several states. Some have adopted the Nader-PIRG idea (mentioned by Moberg) of a dues check-off system to fund the associations. The Commonwealth Association of Students (CAS) of Pennsylvania struggled with a funding structure for years and finally adopted the dues check-off system in 1978. This model grew out of contact with labor more than anything done by the PIRGs. Both CAS and the Student Association of the State University of New York (SASU) have successfully lobbied for tuition caps in their respective state legislatures. These organizations have yearly budgets in or close to six figures with several full-time, paid staff. Cali-

fornia, Kansas, New Jersey, Florida and Oregon have similar student lobbies or associations.

Many do not restrict their activities to pounding the halls of the state house. They also advocate affirmative action, an end to draft registration, and an end to *in loco parentis*. CAS was responsible for a ban on discrimination because of sexual preference at Pennsylvania's 14 state-owned schools. Many also advocate ties to the labor movement around joint political goals: principally, preserving access to low-cost, quality public higher education for working people and their children.

The increasing importance of state student associations in campus and higher education politics was recognized by the Carnegie folks earlier this year when they awarded a \$125,000 two-year grant to a joint project of the National Student Educational Fund and the United States Student Association. This will aid in the establishment of a state student association development campaign to pull together a national network of state student associations, strengthen existing associations and build new ones.

To be sure, state student associations are no panacea. Yet, efforts to bring the "power of organization" to student politics is underway.

—Eugene T. Carroll
Washington, D.C.

SOCIALISM'S LOSS

THANK YOU FOR PUBLISHING DAVID McReynolds' "Socialist Party candidacy is not a 'fool's errand.'" (*ITT*, Oct. 1).

The left wing of the Socialist Party prior to the 1973 split, and the reconstituted SPUSA post-1973, has always found the most objectionable aspect of the "realignment strategy" was having to support corporate liberal politicians in the Democratic Party such as Jimmy Carter and Edward Kennedy. At best, in our opinion, this would only be upholding liberalism, not building a socialist alternative.

Had the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (DSOC), by "working in the Democratic Party," meant only that we ought to run socialists for office on the Democratic ticket because it is much easier to get on the ballot, their argument would have created much less furor and division in the party.

Nevertheless, an opportunistic strategy of running and supporting only socialists in the Democratic Party was

shown to have serious pitfalls, in an article about Tom Gallagher, a DSOC member who won the primary election for a Democratic seat in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, in the same issue of *In These Times*.

Gallagher's campaign was based on liberal slogans and solutions. By his own admission, "...On a state level, I was not proposing socialism." In fact, he worried and feared a lot about what would happen if someone asked him if he was a socialist. His response would have been: "I don't support Poland or the Soviet Union, if that's what you mean by socialism. I believe that big business runs the country and has too much power. The only way for people to have a voice is to organize themselves at work in their communities."

Now I ask you, isn't that really defining liberalism, not socialism? But Gallagher never got a chance to use this "defense" of his position. He and his staff so well kept the fact that he believed in socialism (assuming he really does) from the attention of the public, that his "shame" was never known.

This is opportunism and careerism at its worst. Gallagher teaches us to keep socialism a secret, be ashamed to admit that you are one. He won the election, but socialism lost.

—Donald F. Busky
Local chairperson, Socialist Party
of Greater Philadelphia

THOUGHTFUL

JUST A SIMPLE NOTE TO LET YOU know how much I've enjoyed your coverage of Cuba in recent months. I was fortunate to be able to visit Cuba in January with a social work tour from Boston University School of Social Work. We saw lots of growth and positive changes, despite the contradictions and problems. Of course this side of the Cuban Revolution rarely reaches the "straight" media. I've appreciated your thoughtful coverage of the Cuban refugee crisis. It has given me the opportunity to share "thinking" with my friends—particularly those who only have access to corporate media coverage. Hats off to you!

—Leslie Feder
Bowling Green, Ohio

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.



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Ruth Messinger
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Part I: Co-op Renaissance



CO-OPS

The co-op movement is still small, but growing rapidly

This is the first of a three-part series on the history and current state of the co-operative movement in the United States.

By John Magney

FRANK ZEIDLER LIKES TO TALK about the days when he was Milwaukee's most recent socialist mayor (1948-60). He also likes to keep in touch with what's going on nowadays. One topic he really warms up to is cooperatives. "I believe that many people have become convinced that cooperatives should play a more important role in our lives," he says. "This would gladden the hearts of the old cooperators."

Many activists share Zeidler's optimism. "This is a new age," says Maggie Kuhn of the Gray Panthers. "We're in a time when the co-op movement can spread and take root everywhere." And consumer advocate Ralph Nader says: "The time is ripe. More and more co-ops will be beneficiaries of people's growing awareness of the inability of the giant corporations to deliver adequate employment, restrain inflation, alleviate poverty."

The blossoming of interest in co-ops has been getting attention in the local press around the country. Last year in the Chicago area, reports Arthur Rasch of the Chicago Co-op Information Center, more than 60 stories on co-ops were run by local newspapers and radio and television stations. Thanks to the publicity, Rasch's Center answered 6,500 telephone inquiries from people interested in organizing or joining cooperatives.

Since the early 1970s, more new co-ops have been organized than at any time since the 1930s depression. They've included everything from auto repair shops to taxi services, construction companies, soap factories, book binderies, newspapers, bars and restaurants, arts and craft shops, and even folk music festivals. The vast majority, however, have been food cooperatives—buying clubs and small stores specializing in whole or unprocessed foods. According to the 1980 *Co-op Directory*, there are now several thousand of these "new wave" food co-ops operating around the country.

Another development that has excited co-op activists is the creation of the National Consumer Cooperative Bank. Congress passed the authorizing legislation two years ago, and after a lengthy series of public hearings, the Bank finally swung into operation in March. Over the next two years, if congressional appropriations hold up and enough securities are sold, the bank's loan fund could mount to as much as \$3 billion. It could have a big impact on consumer co-ops, as they have traditionally exper-

...indicate an awareness of the political dimension of their co-op participation."

Co-op Directory listings reflect the rapid grass-roots growth of the new co-ops. In 1977, the number of stores and buying clubs was up to 2,300, and this year it was over the 4,000 mark. One of the strongest areas of growth has been the northern Great Lakes states, where there is a longstanding tradition of support for cooperatives. Almost 300 food co-ops were operating in Michigan last year.



Most of the new cooperatives are in food distribution. Their combined sales volume last year was only \$1 billion, compared to Safeway's sales of \$13.7 billion.

ience great difficulty in getting loans from private lenders.

The growth of "new wave" co-ops started out in campus communities at the beginning of the 1970s. As part of their effort to build a counter culture, "radical" activists in Boston, Ann Arbor, Madison and dozens of other cities organized little co-ops to purchase fruit, vegetables, grains and other basic staples. Whole foods were emphasized because of the growing concern about leading simpler life styles. The food was distributed from basements, back porches, garages, meeting rooms, and—as some of the co-ops grew—from store fronts.

Growth into store-fronts brought many problems, because radical organizers have little or no business experience. A great deal of time was spent learning about bookkeeping, taxes, health codes, maintaining refrigeration equipment, and all the other details of keeping a business going. "We were just reinventing the wheel, over and over again," recalls Bill Hogan, manager of Milwaukee's Outpost Co-op. Occasionally the burdens became too much, and the co-ops fell apart. But, more often than not, they managed to survive.

As student activists graduated (or dropped out) and left campus communities, they took the "new wave" idea with them. Little buying clubs and stores began popping up everywhere around the country, in rural towns, middle-class suburbs, and even in some inner-city areas. Their initial members were often "retired" radicals and hippies. But, as word got around, they drew in others who wanted to cut their food budgets and eat whole foods. "People who shop in the new generation co-ops appear to be there primarily because they can get good cheap food," noted Philip Kreitner in a 1976 study. "However, they also

Researchers give several reasons for the wave of co-op growth. Ron Cotterill, an agricultural economist at Michigan State University, points to public discontent with "the food system...becoming concentrated into fewer large corporations, with the result that monopoly overcharges are increasing." (According to a recent Department of Agriculture study, 50 corporations now control 63.7 percent of the food-processing industry. Monopoly overcharges in 1975 were estimated to be \$10 billion.)

Opinion surveys indicate considerable discontent with the corporate food industry. In a 1979 study conducted by Yankelovich, Skelly and White for the Food Marketing Institute, 64 percent agreed that supermarkets "strike a bad balance between profits and public responsibility." And in a survey by the Agricultural Council of America, 50 percent expressed dissatisfaction with the quality and nutritional value of food sold in supermarkets. "The climate is right for co-ops, and it's going to get even better," concludes Cotterill.

New wave co-ops have not been the only beneficiary of the discontent with the corporate food system. Many of the "old wave" consumers co-ops have also been growing in recent years. There are 220 of these older co-ops around the country, according to the Cooperative League. Most came into being during the 1930s, often as small buying clubs (like new wave co-ops). Now, however, they operate large conventional supermarkets. The biggest (in the continental U.S.) is the Consumer's Co-op of Berkeley, which runs a chain of 12 stores around the Bay area. Over the past decade, the Berkeley Co-op's membership has grown from 54,000 to 98,000, and its annual sales from \$34 million to \$78.5 million.

So far, only a handful of the new wave co-ops have abandoned the "small is beautiful" philosophy and become large supermarket operations. The vast majority (about 80 percent of the total) are buying clubs, with memberships often numbering no more than a few dozen families. Many have no desire to get any bigger. "The intimacy of a small group allows us to exchange ideas freely, to keep everybody happy, to act as democratically as possible—all the principles that are at the core of the co-op movement," comments Eugene West, coordinator of Nature's Best, a Detroit-area buying club.

New wave store-fronts also generally operate on a small scale, on the order of the old-fashioned "Mom and Pop" grocery. Many in fact are housed in locations that were once little grocery stores. Most of their sales are made in bulk quantities, out of garbage cans, jars, bins and coolers. And, like the buying clubs, their members often express little interest in moving into the big time. "No, we don't have any interest in becoming a full service market," says Lex Krausz, a manager at the Food Co-op in

Ft. Collins, Colo. "We want to stay the same as we are."

Despite their recent growth, the aggregate economic clout of the old and new wave food co-ops is still insignificant. Their combined sales volume last year was in the neighborhood of \$1 billion, according to figures released by the *Co-op Directory* and the Cooperative League. Sales volume for Safeway (the biggest food giant) was \$13.7 billion. Total retail food sales in the country approached \$200 billion, which means the co-op "market share" was around one-half of one percent.

Credit unions, rural electric co-ops and farm marketing and supply co-ops are the only cooperatives that have built up some economic power in the country. Farm co-ops are the biggest of the lot. This year, six of them (headed by Farmland Industries with sales of \$3.8 billion) made it onto *Fortune's* list of the 500 largest U.S. industrial corporations. According to the Department of Agriculture, farm co-ops sell 18 percent of the supplies and equipment bought by farmers, and handle 74 percent of the dairy products and 25 percent of the fruits and vegetables marketed in the country.

The achievements of the farm and other bigtime cooperatives have been a continuing point of conflict between activists in the old and new wave movements. The debate is rooted in the unique history of American cooperatives, and its outcome will have a significant impact on the future of the co-op movement.

Next: Co-ops—Their History and Development.

John Magney has worked in co-ops and has been a consultant and researcher for co-ops for several years. He is now a director of the Intra-Community Cooperative, a federation of "new wave" co-ops in Wisconsin and northern Michigan.

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PERSPECTIVES

The Greek left marches to new, different tunes

By Fred Halliday

ATHENS—A NEW NOTE IS BEING STRUCK IN LEFT GREEK music. With Theodorakis reintegrated into the pro-Soviet Communist Party, and with the epic style of his music less attractive in a post-junta atmosphere, a doubting, anti-heroic singer named Savopoulos has the attention of radicalized young people. "Imperialism is not the only enemy," he sings, "there is also loneliness." Savopoulos' songs illustrate the Greek left's evolution in more than one way. He is raising personal issues as a legitimate part of socialist life in

a way virtually unknown before the fall of the junta in 1974. A women's movement has emerged, with its own magazines and with the publication in Greek of feminists such as Shulamith Firestone, Juliet Mitchell and Sheila Rowbotham, and has begun an uphill struggle to reform the stringent divorce laws that the orthodox church imposes on Greece, a country still without civil marriage. A gay movement has also emerged. Its journal, *Amphi*, was recently seized by the authorities.

This concern with "social movements" was evident at the recent festival staged in the Athens suburb of New Smyrna by the Communist Party of the Interior, the Eurocommunist party that broke away from the pro-Soviet one in 1968. The festival was held in a park decorated with portraits of party heroes like Manolis Glezos, the man who planted the Greek flag on the Acropolis during the German occupation, Nicos Foulantzias, the "Marxist" sociologist, and Smatis Tsirkas, a novelist whose trilogy of left-wing life in Alexandria in the '40s is a bestseller in Greece. Exhibitions of women's struggle occupied a prominent place among the stalls, and hundreds of spectators attended a discussion of political-personal relationships by women communists from France, Italy, Spain and Britain.

The Interior CP's espousal of such traditional causes has won it predictable hostility from less enlightened groups. Two of its own branches in Athens recently refused even to discuss a motion on women's liberation, and the pro-Soviet party, always referred to by the Interior people as "the dogmatic party," has poured scorn on what it calls the Interior's support for "pornographic" causes. The pro-Soviets make a strong case for the preservation of the family and have inculcated their youth branch with the slogan "First in school results, first in the struggle."

While the post-1974 atmosphere has led to a mass of new socialist writing and translation, the enthusiasms of the first period are over. There is a crisis in left-wing publishing, similar to that in Portugal and Spain. Moreover the Greek Marxist intelligentsia is going through an experience that in a curious way repeats the history of the Greek bourgeoisie, one of immense activity abroad, but of comparatively little production and creativity at home.

Oppression after the civil war and the junta's seven lean years produced an active intelligentsia in exile. Foulantzias, Paul Cardan, the theorist of syndicalism, Arghiri Emmanuel, author of a classic work on uneven exchange, and many others settled outside and acquired international reputations. Others such as Constantinos Tsoukalas, author of a book on modern Greece, and Nicos Mouzelis, a London School of Economics lecturer and author of a study of Greece as a de-

veloping country, have influenced Greek intellectual life, but from abroad.

As in Britain and the U.S., Marxist controversy often centers around questions of history, in this case around the question of how far Greece has become a capitalist country. One school emphasizes the expansion of Greek naval and financial capital in the 18th century and argues that Greece has for a considerable time been a capitalist country. This school has unearthed an earlier body of Greek Marxist writing from the pre-war period that argued this case. The other school stresses the low level of development of Greek industry and agriculture until the 1960s, and the failure of modern Greece to achieve a full democratic life until the fall of the junta in 1974.

Such debates reach beyond the academy, as they affect left political strategies. Those seeing a developed Greek capitalism believe the country to be ripe for politics stressing class differences of a developed capitalist society. Those espousing the "underdevelopment" thesis lay greater stress on broad national and popular coalitions.

The Interior Communist Party has opted for the first policy and pursued a strategy similar to that of other Eurocommunist parties. Alone among the Greek left parties, it has accepted Greece's entry into the Common Market in 1981, within which it hopes to build a strong socialist alliance. The PASOK party of Andreas Papandreou has recently come to accept EEC entry, but it remains committed to the idea of Greece as a country for broad non-class appeals.

PASOK won 25 percent of the vote in 1977, and indications are that it will do better in the 1981 campaign. Indeed, it may even form a government—the first time in Greek history that a leftwing party would be in office. If it does so it will have to go beyond the generalities of its present populist policies, may alienate some of those who support it; but it will also face a challenge from the right that could polarize Greek politics precariously.

Opponents of PASOK have many ad-

vantages beyond a permanent conservative control of the bloated state apparatus. The President, former premier Karamanlis, could use the Gaullist potential of the constitution and exert an overt influence that he has so far abstained from deploying. Within the right, the present premier, George Rallis, faces a possible challenge from the determined Minister of Defense Evangelos Averoff, who enjoys the backing not only of the top military, but also of those forces who would still like to reduce the degree of democracy in Greek public life. A recent hard-line speech by Averoff, on the anniversary of the defeat of the Communists in the civil war, was broadcast at length by the army-controlled TV channel.

The post-1974 liberalization has produced some changes in Greek public life. The dispute over the "pure" and "demotic" versions of the language has finally been settled in favor of the latter. Public political life has for the first time respected the norms of western European

democracy. But 30 percent of the population did vote for the monarchy in the referendum, and many old political practices remain. *Rousfeti*, or corruption in acquiring jobs in the civil service, is widespread.

The civil war also remains a live issue: more than 30,000 Greek Communists who fled the country at the end of the war remain in exile. The armed forces retain a powerful place in Greek life, with their own television channel, and PASOK has in recent months been making an appeal to them. But PASOK will need allies. The Communist Party of the Interior has a weak parliamentary following and is not expected to do well in next year's elections. The pro-Soviet Party will, like George Marchais in France, be tempted not to collaborate with a potential ally nearer the center. It will require considerable skill and good fortune if, in the elections of 1981, the Greek left is to overcome the loneliness of so many years.

Iraq-Iran war is taking the heat off the Israelis

By David Mandel

DESPITE PIOUS EXPRESSIONS OF CONCERN OVER THE dangers should the Iraq-Iran war spread, or Iraq gain too much power, most of Israel was gloating as September closed and two of the countries most hostile to it both seemed to be losing. A possible oil shortage was no concern: Israel is perhaps the only petroleum-importing country in the world that receives none (directly) from either Iraq or Iran. Its long-range future supplies are so precarious anyway that it hardly matters if Gulf installations are going up in smoke. The

plus, as most Israelis, coalition and loyal opposition alike, saw it, was in the field of public relations *vis a vis* the West. For years, it was explained, Israel's "fair-weather friends" in Europe and the U.S. had been warning that failure to resolve the Israel-Arab conflict, especially its Palestinian dimension, was endangering stability in the Middle East and, therefore, the supply of oil. Now, a real threat has appeared, unconnected to Israel. "So lay off!" was the prevailing spirit.

Statements by Israeli leaders for both internal and external consumption also stressed the unreliability of Baghdad's and Tehran's rulers, and agreements signed by them. They imputed the same for all Islamic and Arab regimes, especially those under Soviet domination. And Israeli opinion-makers could be seen grossly exaggerating the USSR's influence in both warring countries, especially Iraq, which has been feverishly building ties with the capitalist West and Arab kings in recent years while driving its own communists underground.

If sympathies were displayed toward either side, then Khomeini's Iran, hitherto public enemy number two (after the PLO), was the beneficiary. Prime Minister Menachem Begin, in a previously scheduled speech to some soldiers, reminisced about past ties, matter-of-factly divulging what had been secret anecdotes about Israeli-Iranian cooperation in supporting the Kurdish rebellion against

Iraq until 1975. Deputy defense minister Mordechai Zipori went even further, advocating steps aimed at renewing the supply of military spare parts to hard-pressed Iran, once a major customer, in exchange for a change in policy by the Islamic revolution. Most politicians here, however, cautioned against such adventurism and, it might be added, implausible ideas.

Along with Egyptian President Anwar Sadat, most Israeli leaders were united in strongly urging U.S. intervention to protect oil sources and routes, almost taunting Washington for not doing so. The "advice" was incongruous alongside Israel's disdainful scolding of European states for taking measures presumably aimed at insuring their oil supplies—such as fostering ties with the producer regimes. It also misread an interest the U.S.—and especially its oil companies—had in reducing the surplus that has glutted the world petroleum market for the last year.

Nevertheless, speeches by Israeli leaders almost begged the U.S. to "use us" for whatever military purposes deemed necessary. Begin took the opportunity in his lecture to "reveal" that the U.S. has made, presumably in the recent past, specific inquiries about using a Sinai air base (soon to be returned to Egypt) and even offered a mutual defense pact (Begin claimed he expressed interest and asked for a detailed proposal).

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IN PRINT

POLICE

On the beat, in his own words



From inside a police station in the heart of a violent neighborhood of working-class Liverpool, South African author James McClure has collected a set of in-depth interviews. They provide a unique perspective on English social conflict and daily life. The police officers' remarks—presented in the same format as Studs Terkel's *Working*—also give an impression of the role of police in the society. McClure plans a similar book on the experience of American police. Following is an excerpt from *Spike Island* (Pantheon, \$14.95, 533 pp.)

The section sergeant enjoys his pint in a corner of the social club. He is 26, married, from a working-class background. Quizzical, idiosyncratic, an incorrigible realist with the appearance of a Saxon gladiator turned centurion, he looks at the world from a height of 5 feet 11 inches and seems to see there a good deal to amuse him.

Nobody has to steal to eat on the North Sub if they are reasonably *au fair* with the Welfare Station, but in terms of psychological needs, it's another matter. I'm not really qualified to say how much of the crime is need, but those needs could be as real as hunger, and you've got to refer it back to the conditions in which they live.

It's airy-fairy referring everything back, but that's what you got to do. You could say breaking windows is a form of release, really, or taking cars. In terms of physical need, I'd say: Nil—unless you say having a stereo set is a physical need, and that could be argued!

I don't think there are any particular physical risks in the job. We get smacked in the mouth and stuff, but you'd get smacked in the mouth if you were there and you weren't the police. Furthermore, you'd stand a good chance of being locked up for being involved in the situation where you got smacked in the mouth. Or, at the very least, you wouldn't have about three hundred mates piling out of Land Rovers to back you up. I mean, I feel safer in the police than I do out of the police! If I go out for a Saturday night, I feel terrified. (Laughs)

I enjoy violent confrontations quite a lot, and so do a lot of policemen, because it's back to Cowboys and Indians—you're like a television policeman again, y'know! (Laughs) And I like catching good thieves—I don't get much chance to do it now—but that's quite rewarding in the actual feeling of the collar. What

happens in court makes a mockery of it, but you still have that little warm glow—the almost sensual feeling of catching him. Because it's back to huntin'. We're the last of the great white hunters—in this country, anyhow—and it's man we hunt because all the animals have gone! (Laughs)

their own morality. The police have to take a defensive stance against criminals—that's accepted, but also against the public, because the police are going about doing their job differently to what the public wants at times, whether the public realizes it or not. Police morality differs in, say, motoring—that's the



A lot of people have an absolute belief in catching thieves; it is a hunting instinct really. The best thief-catchers, the best policemen—that's in inverted commas!—fall into that category. The guys who receive the most credit are the ones with this absolute belief, and they're probably the happiest ones, y'know. They get the most notches on their gun, and they can believe in the notches.

I enjoy the job—I've severe misgivings about a lot of it, but I get a lot out of it. When I was 20, I'd tried two clerical jobs and I'd reached the stage when I didn't feel cut out to be a clerk. I thought in terms of the Army, but I didn't have Maths O-level, which you need to enter as an officer. So I put in for the police to my own and most people's surprise really.

I was going in in a sort of vacuum. None of my family were in the police—they were all about five foot eight—and, apart from that, I don't think by background or anything they were inclined to join the police, so it was a bit of a shock. I only did it on the nothing ventured, nothing gained basis—I suppose you get conditioned by TV programmes subconsciously.

My family had a saying that was quoted to me after I joined: "Once a policeman, never a man." Very hurtful! (Laughs) But there was something to it, y'know, which is why there's something hurtful to it, I suppose.

As a disciplined uniformed body you have to present a uniform front to the world because the police have different standards to the world. The public have like a dual morality; criminals have an anti- or non-morality; and policemen as a bloc have

classic. Nobody ever thinks they deserve to be done for parking on double yellow lines or for no tax or no insurance—or for beat-in' the wife or whatever! But the policeman works for a system that says they should be done, they believe they should be done, and they do them.

Immediately, as soon as they start enforcing this type of thing, they're at loggerheads with society—or, rather, with the individual with whom they're dealing. There's also things like "theft as employee," stuff like that. Unions will fight against that; they'll go on strike if you do stop-checks outside a factory. And the firm will say they don't want you to do it—you've read about firms sackin' security guards for searching people—because they can write it off as a tax loss. As soon as the police start doing that type of thing, then they're anti-social. What's the term? Dysfunctional! (Laughs)

People look upon crime like a pyramid with working-class crime forming the base, and it decreases as you go up the classes. But actually, it's a sort of square block, if you take the money involved—possibly it's even an inverted pyramid. I don't know about the geometry of the thing, but it certainly ain't no pyramid. (Laughs) Pharaoh wouldn't recognize it!

The police perpetuate the system really. Just imagine them saying, "This month we'll have an all-out campaign on the middle class," or "This month we'll go for a few top-liners!" It just doesn't work like that. They just keep it going as it is—and, the way it is, it happens to be the working-class people get the hammer.

If this was a different society

you could have begun at the top of the building, and that you'd be more successful—if people wanted you to be. The mayhem there's been over it, the protests, the negative and confusing case-law, the procedural mucking about...! A breathalyser file ties a bobby up good-style; it's a complicated file and the farther up the class scale you go, the more complicated it becomes. The present file is an improvement—when they first started, you couldn't understand them—but they're still very difficult, and it isn't being used to its full potential. We could all go out and get one each tonight with no bother at all and quite legitimately, but it doesn't happen. And it's all because of the pressures—plus maybe policemen are a bit aspirational to the middle class themselves! (Laughs)

I don't lose any sleep over all

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A-020

"I like violent confrontation. It's back to cowboys and Indians. You're like a TV cop!"

buck, fightin' with people in the gutter, to having dinner with the Lord Mayor! Tremendously difficult to cope with.

Anyone with his undoubted ability must stand a very good chance of being at least a chief inspector in time. What then?

The huntin's finished. (Smiling broadly) They take me bow and arrow off me.

Reprinted from *Spike Island: Portrait of a British Police Division* by James McClure, copyright 1980 by Sabensa Gakulu Ltd., Used by permission of Pantheon Books, a division of Random House, Inc.

**The Madwoman in the Attic:
The Woman Writer and the 19th
Century Imagination**

By Sandra Gilbert and Susan
Gubar

Yale University Press, 719 pp.,
\$10.95, paperback

By Kate Ellis

WOMEN WRITERS

A voice of their own



Emily Brontë, like other 19th-century English women novelists and poets, faced a world in which women were either angels or monsters.

"Is the pen a metaphorical penis?" ask Sandra Gilbert and Susan Gubar in the opening sentence of this ambitious book, the first of two projected volumes. They then proceed to demonstrate, in a richly documented introductory section, the assumption of this metaphor by male writers and the effects of that assumption on their female opposite numbers.

Using a model put forth by Harold Bloom in *The Anxiety of Influence*, in which generations of male writers do battle as "sons" with a tradition established by their historical "fathers," Gilbert and Gubar show how women writers, lacking both an equivalent female tradition and an acceptable model of combat, are both hampered and drawn together by this asymmetrical situation.

Building on the foundations of feminist scholarship, and owing a particular debt to Patricia Spacks (*The Female Imagination*, 1975), Ellen Moers (*Literary Women*, 1976) and Elaine Showalter (*A Literature of Their Own*, 1977), the authors join disconnected women's "rooms" by doorways, corridors and even secret passageways. They range with confidence through the entire literary canon to analyze the strategies by which 19th-century women circumvented the lethal female stereotyping of their age to find a voice of their own. In showing by example what lies on the other side of deference to received (male) wisdom, this is an invaluable work, not only for critics but for writers as well.

In the 19th century, women were either angels or monsters. The authors take up the second of these alternatives, which they find in a particularly damaging (though embryonic) form in Milton's Eve, and focus on five novelists (Jane Austen, Mary Shelley, Emily and Charlotte Brontë, George Eliot) and three poets (Christina Rossetti, Elizabeth Barrett Browning and Emily Dickinson) as they respond to this central element of their cultural heritage. Displacing aspects of themselves that are unacceptable to their culture onto characters whose resistance, both active and passive, could be exorcised or punished, these writers undermined the Victorian ideal of womanhood while appearing to embrace it.

Sometimes a character is a "divided self" whose "better half" triumphs in the end. Sometimes this strategy of division takes the more extreme form of "doubling," where a protagonist's repressed attributes are played out by one or more "madwomen in the attic." Finally there is Emily Dickinson, who embraces her own "madwoman," dressing all in white "to indicate the death to the world of an old Emily and the birth of another Emily, a supposed person or a series of supposed persons who escaped the requirements of Victorian reality by assuming the eccentricities of Victorian fiction."

Milestone.

This book represents a critical milestone. There is its divided parentage, two scholars writing separate sections but speaking with a single voice notably devoid of the "anxiety of author-

ship," the writers find in all of the women they study, and which affects critics no less than poets and novelists. I would guess that this act of collaboration and sisterly support brought forth a stronger book than a single author could have produced alone, even in twice the time. In Virginia Woolf's *To the Lighthouse*, the painter Lily Briscoe has a difficult time holding onto her "vision" because no one else "sees" what she does. In this

wood's uncontrolled response to male rejection (*Sense and Sensibility*) or Mary Crawford's thoughtless flippancy (*Mansfield Park*), in hasty judgments (*Pride and Prejudice*) or manipulations and rudeness (*Emma*).

The question at issue under this "cover" of Austen's is of critical importance to any artist, but particularly to one who is excluded from the dominant tradi-

The "madwoman in the attic" character expresses, claim the authors, repressed qualities of the hemmed-in author.

book, I find what feminists often speak and dream of: a vision that grew through the act of sharing it.

Elaine Showalter has likened feminist criticism to "an optical illusion which can be seen as either a goblet or two profiles." In a feminist reading, she says, "we are presented with a radical alteration of our vision, a demand that we see meaning in what had previously been defined as empty space." This is indeed the demand that is made when Susan Gubar takes the image of Austen hiding her writing under blotting paper as "an emblem of a far more organic camouflage." The author castigates her characters for "unfeminine" behavior she herself indulges in by the act of writing novels—those high spirits that express themselves in Marianne Dash-

ton for lack of a metaphorical pen. What conditions (internal as well as external) make it possible to have a vision and to communicate it to others? The line that Gubar and Gilbert take is one I would call feminist romanticism. They reject existing standards on the grounds that they are tainted by, and serve to maintain, a patriarchal order.

This approach works best for writers like Charlotte Brontë and Emily Dickinson, who are feminist romantics; that is, whose works celebrate the triumph (as opposed to the reintegration) of the outsider. But this is not what Austen is about.

She writes social comedy, and the quality the abovementioned characters have in common is one that brings down her community-minded censure every time: egocentricity. Austen (and

Eliot after her) always come down hard on a character who denies to others what Eliot called "an equivalent center of self."

Kindness, a sense of appropriateness, respect for differences and a capacity for self-criticism—all social virtues—are the qualities Austen rewards, and those characters who acquire them come to see themselves, and the world around them, without distortion. One might then switch back from the profiles to the goblet and say that Austen was endorsing through her characters the qualities she found most essential for the artist who wants to take her work out from under the blotting paper—reliable social observation unmarred by the needs of the observer's ego.

Gubar and Gilbert focus throughout the book on a prior aspect of a vision made public: the assertion of one's right to have it. They argue with Virginia Woolf, who, in *A Room of One's Own*, faults the 19th-century novelist for mixing the fuel of assertion in with the vision itself. In *To the Lighthouse*, she separates the two with a 10-year interval. First we see Lily struggling against a "community" that constantly says, "Women can't paint, women can't write."

This phase of the struggle is followed by an assumption of authority that allows the woman artist to center her vision within a context that is still patriarchal. Feminists are often wary of this second stage, and with good reason. There is no simple rule of thumb to separate cooptation from what Adrienne Rich calls "re-vision." Though the act of re-entering the male-dominated mainstream can alter that con-

IN THESE TIMES OCT. 22-28, 1980 19

text, it does not necessarily do so.

The next section of the book moves in on Milton as the most formidable spokesman for the forces that have denied women not only the right but the means to a vision. Sandra Gilbert points to *Paradise Lost*, whose story enacts symbolically the exclusion of women as a group from the process of public language-making. Eve was excluded, not because she ate the apple but because she appeared on the scene after Adam had named everything in creation. Thus women writers have no choice but to learn and use a language not of their own making. Milton, she asserts, links Eve with the fallen Satan even before her own fall, as well as with the female monster, Sin, whom Satan "begets" out of his own head and then marries. Eve's fascination with her own reflection right after she is created "is plainly meant by Milton," Gilbert argues, to seem morally ugly, a hint of her potential for spiritual deformity." Gilbert then draws a parallel between this Eve and Mary Shelley's monster in *Frankenstein*, who is repelled by his reflection. "In one sense," Gilbert comments, "this is a corrective to Milton's blindness about Eve. Having been created second, inferior, a mere rib, how could she possibly...have seemed anything but monstrous to herself?" In another sense, though, Shelley's monster "extends" the misogyny in Milton. Gilbert concludes that Shelley "takes the male culture myth of *Paradise Lost* at its full value and rewrites it so as to clarify its meaning."

The revision of the myth that Gilbert and Gubar want, and which Charlotte Brontë's Shirley Keeldar does in fact make in *Shirley*, would do to Eve what the English romantic poets did to Milton's Satan. That is to say, she would become "the hero of *Paradise Lost*." Gilbert finds such a re-vision in what she calls "Emily Brontë's Bible of Hell," *Wuthering Heights*, where the ghosts of Heathcliff and Catherine, refusing to accommodate themselves to a "civilization" that is coextensive with patriarchal rule, triumphantly haunt both houses in the novel from the moors where they played as children.

In my opinion, this reading of *Wuthering Heights* slights the second half of the book, just as the "Satan hero" reading of *Paradise Lost* slights the "greater good" that Milton's God brings out of the fall, and which takes up the two final books of the epic. Readers will have to decide whether this view of Brontë's "two profiles" subjects her "goblet" to a re-vision, or if it pushes it too far into the background.

Isolation.

In my view, the most groundbreaking sections of *The Madwoman in the Attic* are those that illuminate the "empty spaces" in the work of Charlotte Brontë and Emily Dickinson. Both writers were agonizingly conscious of their simultaneous exclusion from, and imprisonment (both metaphoric and literal) by, male power within their respective fathers' houses. It is the way they use that isolation that makes them what I call feminist romantics.

Like their male counterparts, they draw strength from their situation as social outsiders, a situation both defining and doubly painful for a woman since her "place" was in the home. Claiming to be "Nobody," they

Continued on page 23

ART «» ENTERTAINMENT



The strength of *RETURN OF THE SECAUCUS SEVEN* is in dialogue, here between the doctor (left) and the local.

FILM

Slumber party reunion for the anti-war kids

By Pat Aufderheide

It's about time for a reunion of the class of '70—the white anti-war kids who have put acid and hitchhiking behind them in favor of law degrees or the rural life. John Sayles' movie, *The Return of the Secaucus Seven*, is it. Bring your arrest record and join the party.

John Sayles is, at 29, an energetic *Arm Beattie*, an ethnographer of the remains of the Movement generation (East Coast branch). He's a punchy, vivid writer—author of *Union Dues*, winner of the O. Henry award for the unforgettable short story that ends *The Anarchist Convention* anthology, veteran of several Roger Corman screenplays—and he's one of our best inside chroniclers of an era in American culture.

With *Secaucus*, he struts his moviemaking stuff, and if there's a bit of bravado in writing, directing and producing an accurate, funny and good-natured film on almost no money—well, you can only be grateful.

This is about as good an argument as you can make for independent film. Here's a movie that vividly sketches character in social context and holds interest without resorting to melodrama, made in color for \$60,000. It's a writer's movie: the scenes and dialogue carry you along the rough spots—and there are a number of them. The movie has the flavor of a spirited rehearsal. There are shakily acted scenes that weren't reshot, and some characters would have been better played by more professional actors.

But then this is a movie made by a group of friends—and about them too. *Secaucus* has a small, serviceable structure—a weekend reunion of college

friends, at the small town home of the most stable couple, who are now teaching high school. They're a well-intentioned, still fresh-faced bunch of idealists. One woman is becoming a doctor—going into obstetrics, of course. Another is now a senator's aide—"I don't give a rat's ass about the senator...until you look at the alternative," she says. The teddy bear of the group is on the verge—again—of taking his guitar and songwriting ability to Los Angeles. The oldest couple is breaking up, in the same way things happen for everyone else at the reunion: tentatively.

The detail here is devastatingly

correct. You may even recognize the squeals of identification you hear in the theater. They play charades with titles like *Far Tortuga*, refer to the Gantrassin that someone used for her cystitis, visit the local neighborhood bar, play volleyball (mixed), basketball (the boys), *Clue* (the girls) and talk. Furiously, but mostly personally.

Discussion of political issues is a sidelight of scenes where people re-establish empathy. For instance, the senator's aide defends herself during a loud and wideranging bar conversation. The methadone therapist's "causes get lost and lost ever since VISTA," his lover

complains as she explains their breakup. Mostly the conversation is a mixed-sex version of slumber party gossip.

Secaucus is in some ways our *Jonah Who Will Be 25 in the Year 2000*. It's about that self-conscious group of self-styled "radicals" once they've had a few years to get slapped around and try out their ideas. But unlike *Jonah*, these people have all settled on individual and far-flung solutions to the problem of something-to-do and someone-to-be. Even though they've grown up differently and apart, they still have a past and a social class in common.

Because *Jonah* showed its group of post-Paris-'68 friends working together at social alternatives it could also show the isolation, bad temper and political confusion that was part of the daily drama. But *Secaucus* is time out from separate daily routines, where people find comfort in reminiscence about old ties.

Forever young.

All in all, the group is aging gracefully. In fact they're still on the verge of being adults, still playful. Their group spirit rises to the occasion when they all get arrested for "bambicide"—suspected deer poaching. While they wait to be cleared of the charges, they hilariously recall the night they all got arrested in Secaucus, N.J., on their way to an anti-war demonstration. Zealous cops discovered a weapon they didn't know about in the borrowed car's trunk. Then as now, they were just clean kids and it was all a mistake.

No one in this group has any kids. No one is even married. The one woman who is sure she wants kids is the one with disastrous taste in boyfriends. Others wonder if it isn't getting biologically late to decide. There is a father on the edge of the group: the teachers' local friend, Howie (played by Sayles himself). Howie is a working-class guy from town who plays basketball with the boys but has to go home to his three kids and a fading cheerleader wife before trudging off

to night work.

He warns the group to "think twice" before having children. This is the only moment that reduces the group to awkward silence. Howie isn't just from another class. His world of family and grunt work is as foreign as a Peace Corps assignment to these bright, witty "kids." His world has no options; theirs is full of

John Sayles, author of *Union Dues*, is, at 29, a boy wonder of film.

potential—that stays potential.

The people here are cheerful, and both their problems and characters are familiar. But something is missing in that sweet idealism and dependence on the meta-family of friendship—a *Jonah*, the future of a way of life they haven't quite decided on. Maybe they're hiding in the safety of numbers, in that demographic bulge that bred the youth movement. Of perhaps a *Jonah* is upcoming in a sequel, in which we find out how they all establish their separate families.

It's a good movie that can animate a slice of social life well enough to raise issues and comparisons. And the class of '70 isn't the only one that has noticed how good John Sayles is (although the word-of-mouth on *Secaucus* is turning it into a theatrical survivor). Sayles is now working on film projects for several studios, including a script for a Steven Spielberg project (*Night Skies*), a \$5 million film (that's cheap in Hollywood) for the Ladd Company and a film about mid-'60s high school for 20th Century Fox. Better still, he has plans to make another personal film, as an independent. ■

The Return of the Secaucus Seven is distributed by Specialty Films (Seattle) in combination with Libra Films (New York).

is an interview with a peasant who had been picked up by the police, tortured and then left for dead. The film also includes footage of the Jan. 22, 1980, unity march of popular organizations when 21 persons were killed by the fire of security forces; an interview with the late Archbishop Oscar Romero; and mourners being shot during the funeral procession for the Archbishop. **JG**

Contributors: Pat Aufderheide and John Gent



Short Notice

The Stunt Man (20th Century Fox)

Excellent, energetic entertainment, directed by a veteran of American International action pictures, Richard Rush. The film is unusual for its quality of construction and acting. It was a long time making (originally begun in 1971, shot and finished in 1978-79 and held up a year in negotiations for distribution), and worth driving a ways to see. It's a tightrope film, stretched between playacting and psychopathy, histrionics and horror. A Vietnam vet on the run from the law (Steve Railsback) runs into a film crew on location. The intense director (Peter O'Toole) takes him on as a stuntman and touchstone to the film's theme—the madness of war. Is the hero dangerous or misunderstood? Is the heroine (Barbara Hershey) in love or just coy? Will the direc-

tor do anything—even kill a stuntman—for art? From the opening bars of music—teasingly alternating between ominous and scampering—we're not sure, but we're plenty interested. Forget *Hooper*. This is a real movie. **PA**

Song of the Canary

By Josh Hanig and David Davis PBS Stations, Nov. 5, evening This hour-long, award-winning film about health hazards in the chemical and textile industries is finally showing on PBS stations. In *These Times* published articles on the film Dec. 6, 1978, and June 27, 1979. Call or write station operators to congratulate them and encourage them to show more independent documentaries like this one. **PA**

Revolution or Death

45 minutes, color, 16mm, dis-

MUSIC

The composer as superstar

By Gene Bell-Villada

How many 19th-century conductors can *In These Times* readers name? And by "conductor" I mean not a composer-conductor like Mahler, but someone who is remembered chiefly for his contributions to the field of conducting.

Such individuals were a rarity just 100 years ago. By contrast, even a musical beginner can come up with half a dozen Romantic composers' names; most advanced connoisseurs have a loose list of 19th-century instrumental virtuosi (Kreutzer, Joachim, Thalberg, Carreno) in the back of their heads; and opera buffs know their singers' histories as well as any Catholic school-girl knows her lives of the saints.

Our century has seen the figure of the conductor rise to a new prominence. Consider the names: Ormandy, Mehta, Ozawa, Solti, Levine—these aren't just musical artists but national media presences, household names. Could the same be said of any living composer outside Bernstein and (perhaps) Copland?

The rise of the conductor has its origins in the topsy-turvy musical situation prevailing today. In the 19th century, one of the prime functions of concert life was to play new works for an expanding middle-class public. This was true for solo recitals as well as opera productions. In an era when performing recent pieces was not the exception but the rule, conducting was only one of many things an ambitious musician might do. Composers—good and bad—took up the baton to make a living and promote their works. Virtuosi soloists widened their territory by transcribing other composers' orchestral pieces and also by writing original works (again, both good and bad) of their own. Some, like Liszt, added conducting to their myriad activities as artists.

This has been radically reversed since about 1920. As any modern composer will point out to you (his voice turning somber), the chief function of most every symphony orchestra today—whether a city philharmonic or a high school youth ensemble—is to preserve a set number of time-tested works, a few hundred titles extending from Bach's Brandenburgs to Bartok's Concerto for Orchestra. The historical span for solo recitals is virtually identical. Occasionally a venturesome music director will take a risk with some Stockhausen or George Crumb.

Of course, this situation itself has recognizable causes. "Serious" compositional practices, techniques and aims now stand terribly remote from the musical needs of the average modern citizen, who often finds even Schoenberg forbidding. Similarly, when career performers take up pen and music paper, their compositions tend to come out in a 19th-century idiom that earns them little respect from trained composers or sophisticated critics. Meanwhile, the avant-garde ethos has mostly lost its modernist vitality.

There is an absence of basic

and direct, but still "pure" and up-to-date, kinds of musical experience. Various types of popular music have recently rushed in to fill the gap. Jazz is increasingly regarded as a worthy, self-renewing classical art (alas, by Europeans more than Americans). Scott Joplin has been rightfully rediscovered as our robust, sweet analogue to Chopin; his rags and waltzes now appear with regularity on piano recital programs. The Will Bolcom-Joan Morris team has demonstrated that Gerishwin or Kern melodies can hold their own with most any Schubert or Brahms *Lieder*.

Still, there are all those symphony orchestras out there, and they're not going to have their horns and fiddles put in cold storage simply because no modern Beethoven exists to draw the crowds and swell the old repertoire. In the absence of modern works with popular appeal, an orchestra will play the Eroicas and Pastorales time and again so long as audiences will pay to hear them.

Once the orchestra has reached its "limits to growth" (in number of pieces as well as players), the job of a conductor becomes more than strictly musical, goes beyond the essential business of providing cues, determining tempi, establishing balances, or shouting "More brass!" Now upgraded to music director, his role takes on managerial, curatorial and "political" as much as artistic functions. His overriding aim is to preserve, attractively and often creatively—but seldom to encourage creation or to create. He holds custody over a glorious past, constantly reorganizing and readapting it for present

Continued on page 23



International Labour Office

THEATER

Russian satire revived with cold war tilt



SUICIDE is back after 50 years.

By Joel Schechter

After nearly 50 years of oppression in Russia and neglect elsewhere, Nikolai Erdman's play *The Suicide* has been discovered by American theaters. The play was banned by Stalin's censors in 1932, and it has never been published or staged in the Soviet Union. Soviet visitors to the U.S. will have ample opportunity to see Erdman's play in

1980. It opens this fall in different productions at four theaters: ANTA in Manhattan, the Goodman in Chicago, Arcna Stage in Washington and the Yale Repertory in New Haven.

Erdman's satire concerns an unemployed Moscow resident, Semyon Podsekalknikov, who is rumored to be contemplating suicide. Semyon has no plans to shoot himself at first. He decides to do so only after various citizens visit and urge him to die for their respective causes. A representative of the intelligentsia wants Semyon's suicide note to protest Russia's post-revolutionary mistreatment of intellectuals. He asks Semyon: "Why is our intelligentsia so silent? Because it is forced to be. But you cannot force a dead man to be silent, citizen. Nowadays only the dead may say what the living think."

One can read such speeches as a protest against Stalin's secret police and censors. Stalin's censors probably read the play that way. But many other passages in *The Suicide* mock excessive individualism, ludicrous self-esteem and self-promotion on the part of the intelligentsia, the bureaucrats, businessmen, clergymen, artists. Each group re-

gards itself as the one essential to society, and representatives of each group compete for Semyon's endorsement. Before long Semyon becomes a celebrity, an individual available and highly sought for sacrifice to any number of causes and collective structures. His fame pleases the suicide man so much that he decides to stay alive. "Our achieve-

ments, our success, our reconstructed society, you can keep it," Semyon tells his pursuers. All he wants is "a quiet life and a living wage" and "the freedom to whisper that life is hard."

His plea for freedom to whisper resembles a dissident's call for freedom of speech, and the Broadway production at ANTA

Continued on page 23

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Nuclear

Continued from page 9

According to Phelps, the NIPSCO strikers have gotten some help from the local anti-nuclear Bailly Alliance, including contributions of food and money, and some help with printing. But for the northern Indiana locals, the fight against Bailly has become, as Phelps put it, "basically a union struggle."

Mineworkers and Machinists.

About one-fifth of the union representation at the conference came from the United Mineworkers, whose international has taken a strong anti-nuclear stance, and whose president, Sam Church, delivered a keynote address.

"When the energy companies discovered oil," he told the conference, "they made this nation a country of petroleum junkies. Here you go, America, this stuff is cheap. The supply is never ending. Trust us, whenever you need a fix, we'll be there."

"Well, we saw what happened."

"Back in the '50s we received another promise: The promise of an ever-continuing supply of cheap energy from nuclear power. One industry expert even said that nuclear power was going to be so cheap, we wouldn't need electric meters, because they would be more expensive than the energy itself."

"But they gave us the meters. They gave us Three Mile Island. They gave us countless tons of nuclear waste. They even gave us the bill for the cost of their own mistakes. They gave us lies."

Church went on to make a strong pitch for the use of coal as a solution for the fuel crisis. "If you are painting an energy picture, you must use the colors available," he said. "And by far the most available color in this country's energy picture is coal black."

But the loudest applause came when Church attacked the possible use of the military in the Middle East. "American history is full of examples of people dwelling on problems," he said, "and inevitably we have found ourselves in a war somewhere. War is not a solution. It is just destruction. We wouldn't have gotten ourselves into the crisis in the Mideast if it wasn't for America's lust

for their oil. The solutions must come soon."

Church was followed to the podium by William Winpisinger, president of the million-member International Association of Machinists and Aerospace Workers. "In my humble opinion," he told the crowd, "if the nuclear industry can't dispose of its own garbage without jeopardizing public safety—

"If it can't afford to pay for the damage claims that might emanate from a nuclear accident—

"If Metropolitan Edison, proud owner of Three Mile Island, is allowed to transfer the costs of its own managerial mistakes to electric consumers and to the 1,000 employees it is laying off in a desperate attempt to satisfy its creditors—

"If the nuclear industry can't afford to offer its employees the same rights to safeguard their own health and safety as workers in other industries enjoy—

"If the nuclear industry can only prosper and grow by denying its employees the right to strike over the contract violations, or even to communicate with one another with respect to complaints regarding conditions of employment—

"Then this nation cannot afford to maintain the nuclear industry. And the trade union movement sure as hell doesn't need it either."

Winpisinger, who received a standing ovation at the end of his speech, added that his own union represents thousands of nuclear workers who might suffer from job loss through a shutdown of the industry, but that his stand was unshakable. "We have some 25,000 members directly involved in the manufacture, processing and handling of radioactive materials," he said. "Another 50,000 or so members are indirectly exposed to radioactivity in airports and truck terminals and on the shipping docks where radioactive materials and products are loaded and unloaded and stored."

"We feel we have a primary obligation to look out for and protect these members from radioactive hazards."

"We aren't going to ask them to stick their heads in a bucket of poison."

"We don't want the Machinists Union to have a Karen Silkwood incident, or to be even partially responsible for a Karen Silkwood case."

"For our members' sake, we had to take a stand. It's their lives and health that are on the line."

"And we had to, for the sake of the

let. If all six defendants are found guilty of rioting and Smith and Matthews are found guilty of first degree murder, then all six can be convicted of first degree murder under the rule.

In Lincolnton, N.C., four Klan units held a joint rally to show support for the "Greensboro 14"—six on trial now and eight to be tried later. Matthews, Smith and Pridmore were there, dressed in KKK satin robes. A 30-foot cross was burned and autopsy photographs of the dead CWP members were on display along with other photographs of the shooting.

Smith told a cheering crowd of 100 men, women and children, "I'll fight for my white race, even if it means dying in the streets of Greensboro or the gas chamber in Raleigh. What happened in Greensboro is nothing compared to what is to come. We fought for you in the streets of Greensboro, now it's time for you to fight for us."

Winston-Salem Klan leader Joe Grady warned that "the communists have said that the new South cannot emerge as long as the Klan exists. In other words, the communists will not be successful unless they blow us away with their 'Death to the Klan' program. In Greensboro we had more fire power. It backfired on them. Support the Greensboro 14 and thanks to the media for being so fair to the Klan in their coverage of the trial."

John Howard, a Georgia KKK organizer, added, "We're forming coalitions with right-wing organizations all over the country. A great holy cause has been developed. Already Carter and Reagan know the strength of the Klan.... They're scrambling and fighting over Klan votes in the nation."

Patricia MacKay is a California private investigator who now writes from the South.

public. We feel we have a moral obligation to consider the public welfare on an issue involving life or death, health and safety. Our obligation doesn't end on the job site, or with a paycheck."

Winpisinger then launched into a plea for the rapid development of alternative energy technologies. "For a secure and sustainable energy future, solar and other non-traditional renewable sources offer the greatest hope."

"Already, solar water and space heating are economically competitive with electric heating. Soon, they may be cheaper than oil or gas. Because heat used in industrial processes, water heating and space heating account for nearly half of all energy now used in America, solar power could make a tremendous immediate contribution in this area alone."

"And just remember that every single dollar spent on solar development rather than nuclear development creates on the order of 270 percent more jobs."

It could happen here.

Winpisinger was followed on the podium the next day by Jim Fraser, secretary of the Victoria branch of the Australian railway workers. Fraser explained to the conference that Australia's Trade Union Council, which represents a majority of the nation's workers, is strongly committed to halting all aspects of nuclear development—including the mining and transportation of uranium. In Australia, Fraser said, "a national confrontation over the nuclear issue" may be in the offing.

And by the end of the weekend, many people in the packed hall in Pittsburgh believed that "it could happen here." The conference unanimously passed res-

olutions calling for a halt to atomic construction and support for native American resistance to uranium mining. It also approved plans for a series of regional meetings, including one to be held in Harrisburg, Pa., in January.

"A lot of the people who came this weekend were not anti-nuke to start," says organizer Jordan Barab, "but they left ready to work." Grossman agrees. "A trillion things are going to happen now. Even those unionists who oppose us have been happy to hear that people are taking on social issues. It's energizing all around."

Where it will lead is a complex question with broad implications. Substantial chunks of the organized labor movement—particularly those centered around the conservative building trades unions such as IBEW local 5—remain strongly committed to nuclear power. But at very least the idea that all unionists by definition support atomic energy has been laid to rest.

And a mature anti-nuclear movement that can claim substantial active union support could have a noticeable impact on the politics of the 1980s—as could a rejuvenated union movement with strong new allies—no matter who is elected president next month.

"The corporations used to get away with saying, 'Here, you unionists and environmentalists, you fight it out with each other,'" says Grossman. "We think those days might be over."

"It used to be labor versus the anti-nukes," adds Robin Rich. "Now it's people within the labor movement that are arguing about it. Energy really has become a union issue."

Harvey Wasserman is author of *Energy War: Report from the Front*.

DIRECTORY

The Directory is published to facilitate contact with organizations frequently referred to in the pages of *In These Times*. Each organization has paid a fee.

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Chicago, IL 60602
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Coalition for a New Foreign and Military Policy
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Washington, DC 20002

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Washington, DC 20036

DSOC-Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee
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Midwest Academy
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Chicago, IL 60614

National Center for Economic Alternatives
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NAM-New American Movement

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Chicago, IL 60657

New Patriot Alliance
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Chicago, IL 60604

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Exterior Office
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Science for the People
897 Main Street
Cambridge, MA 02139

Socialist Party, U.S.A.
Suite 325
135 W. Wells Street
Milwaukee, WI 53203

Working Women
1224 Huron Avenue
Cleveland, OH 44115

Trial

Continued from page 5

dressed in his hospital emergency room orderly uniform when three deputy sheriffs brought him into the courtroom. He stated that his friends had been killed in a government conspiracy; because the trial was an attempted cover-up, he said, he refused to lend it legitimacy by answering the DA's questions. Judge Long found him guilty of contempt of court and sentenced him to 30 days.

The last videotape viewed by the jury, taken by Channel 11 photographer Ed Boyd, depicts defendant Smith running up to Cauce, firing a pistol at point-blank range, then running away. Cauce fell, attempted to get up and was clubbed from behind by another Klansman with a stick. Boyd identified Pridmore, Wood and Matthews as firing at the demonstrators.

The question of who fired what and when is crucial to the defense arguments. FBI tests on the Channel 11 videotape analyzed the echo waves of each gunshot and determined the origin of each shot with only a three-to-ten-foot margin of error. The results of the analysis are that five of the six defendants fired weapons. But defense attorney Wahl said that future evidence will establish that 39 shots were fired in 88 seconds, and that some of those—according to FBI testimony—were fired by the demonstrators.

The DA is asking that defendants be charged under the felony murder rule, which states that a person convicted of a felony in which a murder is committed can then be found guilty of murder even though he or she did not fire a fatal bul-

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

BOSTON, MA

October 28

BOSTON DSOC SOCIALIST EDUCATION SERIES. Topics: "Elections, 1980: A Socialist Perspective," Tuesdays 7:30-9:30 p.m., and "Introduction to Socialism," Wednesdays 7:30-9:30 p.m., at the ACTWU Hall, 150 Lincoln St., Boston. Fee for each course: \$20.00. For more information, call Boston DSOC at (617) 426-9026.

NEW YORK, NY

October 31

Alice Amsden, David Gordon and Bill Tabb will discuss PERSPECTIVES ON THE CURRENT ECONOMIC CRISIS. Co-sponsored by the Radical History Forum and URPE. Admission: \$2.00. At 7:30 p.m. at John Jay College, 445 W. 59th St.

November 9

Jewish folk revival! JEWISH CURRENTS benefit concert, with KAPLEYE, six-person klezmer band, and Barbara Moskow, soprano, at 1075 2nd Ave., (E. 57th) NYC. Tickets: \$7/\$5/\$3. Jewish Currents, 22 E. 17th

St., NYC 10003, (212) WA4-5740.

NATIONWIDE

November 5

"SONG OF THE CANARY," a film about workplace hazards, will be shown on Wednesday at 9:00 p.m. in most cities on your PBS station. The film is introduced by Studs Terkel and will be followed by a discussion that will include Eula Bingham, Tony Mazzocchi, Dr. Sidney Wolfe and Dr. Sydney Shindell. For more information call New Day Films at (415) 524-1921.

CHICAGO, IL

November 8

"BOTTLE BILL BALL": Benefit dance for Illinois Environmental Council (IEC) in support of mandatory beverage container deposit to reduce litter. Saturday, from 8:30 p.m.-midnight. O'Hare-Kennedy Holiday Inn, 5440 North River Road in Rosemont. Entertainment by "Airflow Deluxe," music of the '20s, '30s and '40s. Cash bar. Tickets \$10.00. For information, contact Bill Pfannenstiel, 243-2000, extension 52.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

November 20-23

TOWARD THE 21ST CENTURY: STRATEGIES FOR THE DEVELOPMENT AND SURVIVAL OF SELF-MANAGED ENTERPRISES will be the theme of the Sixth Annual Self-Management Conference at the Main Campus of Howard University. For more information contact K.C. Soares or Norris M. Haynes at (202) 636-7437.

Play

Continued from page 23

disproportionately emphasizes this aspect of the play. Director Jonas Jurasas, an emigre who was censored in 1972 by Soviet authorities when he staged *Macbeth* at a Lithuanian theater, has turned the New York production of *The Suicide* into a play about the extinction of individual freedom.

His interpretation requires some distortion of Erdman's text. Semyon is seated in a coffin as he whispers about freedom, although the author's stage directions do not call for this. A young man disturbed by Semyon's refusal to die shoots himself on stage, contrary to the script. The result is a pessimistic ending, not the humorous one Erdman wrote.

Another liberty taken by Jurasas turns Semyon's Moscow into a city full of informers. The director added a band of gypsies who wander through citizen Podsekainikov's apartment building, spying on the suicidal man wherever he moves. Unwelcome visitors slide out from under the bed, from behind the bedroom icons, from behind dozens of revolving wooden doors which constitute the stage set. Far too often during the evening, this chorus of gypsies also intrudes with Russian-style ballads. The musical numbers added by the director seem like excerpts from an abandoned draft of *Fiddler on the Roof*. Jurasas was evidently persuaded by his

investors (who provided \$800,000) to transform Erdman's satire into a lavish Broadway spectacle. The result is neither satire nor musical spectacle of distinction.

One saving grace in this version of *The Suicide* is British actor Derek Jacobi's superb performance as Semyon. Jacobi, best known here for his leading role in television's *I, Claudius*, plays Semyon in a comic style reminiscent of Stan Laurel. His profoundly sincere but naive character is amazed to discover that he too can become socially useful. Reeling with newly gained self-importance and determined to assert himself, he telephones the Kremlin and asks to speak with "someone at the top." Mustering all his courage, Semyon informs the Kremlin that: "I have read Marx and I do not like Marx." He then waits fearfully as if he expects to be struck dead for blasphemy. When the Kremlin receptionist simply hangs up the phone on Semyon, he concludes with unwarranted glee: "They're afraid of me at the Kremlin!"

In fact, the Kremlin still seems to be afraid of Erdman's satire, if not of Semyon. The continuing ban on the play's production in Russia may have increased its attractiveness to American producers. At a time when Cold War fears are being revived by Pentagon generals and politicians, *The Suicide* may erroneously be perceived and marketed as an impassioned dissident's criticism of Soviet repression. Actually, Semyon and his retinue have their counterparts in contemporary America: Capitalists too have been known to display a narcissistic sense of self-importance, to revel in celebrity, and to sacrifice themselves or their neighbors to misguided causes.

Another explanation for the sudden American interest in this Russian play is our country's satire shortage. American theaters are producing virtually no native political satire, at least none the caliber of Erdman's. Eventually Congress will realize that we must end our dependence on foreign satire, before the supply is cut off by the Soviets. However, I anticipate no change in the situation until American theaters discover Erdman's other masterful satiric play, *The Mandate*, which has been staged in Moscow and awaits a professional premiere in this country.

Joel Schechter teaches at the Yale School of Drama.

Music

Continued from page 23

tastes—but with little broad sense of future drifts. His is a world of smooth administration more than rugged invention, of stable public relations more than bold productions, of safe continuity more than disruptive risk.

The conductor is a local instance of a larger type, such as the high-living museum director whose reknown exceeds that of any producing painter or sculptor, the academic structuralist whose higher theories divert attention away from the independent novelist or active poet, and the corporate wizard and professional conglomerator whose merger manias and accounting

tricks outshine the slower efforts of the original inventor or product engineer. The chief difference is that most conductors have done time as practicing craftspeople—as pianists, composers, horn players—of high quality, whereas most curators, structuralists and conglomerators usually have not.

Gene Bell-Villada teaches at Williams College and is writing a book about Jorge Luis Borges.

Book

Continued from page 19

explore the memory-haunted rooms and secret passageways of an internalized patriarchy, along which the soul sometimes escapes and

dances like a bomb, abroad, And swings upon the Hours.

By dramatizing the vocation of "outsider," both Bronte and Dickinson feed their souls as

well as their art. So it is not surprising that we can see, in the work of both writers, an intense ambivalence about abandoning the power base from which they achieve transcendence. From these two writers, perhaps more than any others, we feminists have learned where to look in ourselves for strength to slam the door and stand alone.

There is much to be discussed, debated, and further researched in this comprehensive and controversial study. What matters is that this ongoing work will take place not in "the attic," but as part of the central activity of criticism, on the ground floor. There will be some, of course, who will still try to marginalize the female tradition. But with the publication of this book, and its successor on the 20th-century woman writer now in preparation, their failure seems all but assured.

Kate Ellis teaches English at Rutgers University.

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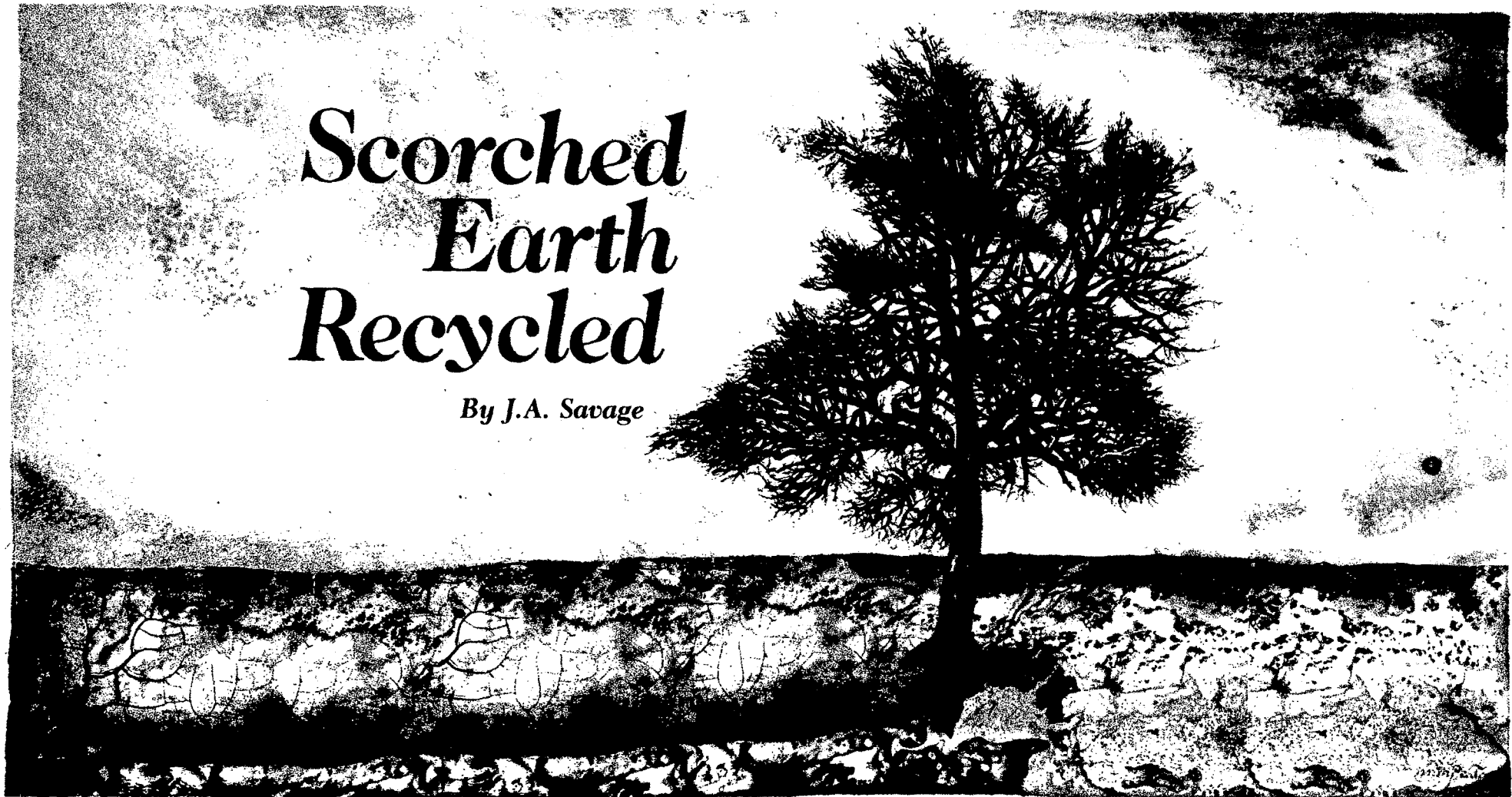
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Scorched Earth Recycled

By J.A. Savage



WHEN THE WARS "OVER there" are over, the soldiers come home and the Pentagon gears up for the next one. But the defense contractors don't give up their old war machinery easily. When the Vietnam market closed down, the production of war technology did not.

Instead, some corporations continue to manufacture and "dump" their wares on third world countries—and on some of America's most beautiful forests.

In 1971, when 2,4-D and 2,4,5-T (Agent Orange) were banned for use in Vietnam, they received popular acceptance for use in agriculture and forestry in the U.S. The herbicide 2,4,5-T was used in this way until it was temporarily banned by the Environmental Protection Agency in 1979. Picloram is sprayed on artichoke thistle. Paraquat is now famous for its use in the nation's marijuana eradication program.

Southeast Asian land suffered once under Operation Ranch Hand and again under the fire of napalm. In American forests, napalm is now known as "Helitorch." According to a U.S. Forest Service district on California's north coast where personnel were prepared to use Helitorch this year, it is "a helicopter outfitted with a 55-gallon drum hanging beneath it. The substance is gasoline with an aluminum sulphate additive. It looks like jello that's been left out of the refrigerator for a few hours. The drum can be ignited from the helicopter." The Forest Service explained that it is basically the same as napalm, except napalm came in pint canisters that had to be thrown by hand and was limited to how far a person could throw.

This napalm-like substance is used in the forests for what is euphemistically known as "site preparation." Site preparation

can mean anything from clear cuts to chemical defoliation. In this case, it means the process of burning off the slash residues that remain after a clear cut. A large fire is started that is supposed to consume all debris on the land. Then the forest technologists can plant the denuded land with commercially valuable tree species.

If the "enemy" managed to escape napalm's fire and chemical defoliation, there were always bombs. The "enemy" in the Forest Service's case appears to be anything in the way of bare earth and commercially valuable lumber. So they are bombing the brush.

Last year, the USFS experimented with a concussion-type bomb in Siskiyou National Forest. This one-pound propylene oxide explosive reportedly scattered and vaporized all tree brush, squirrels and anything else in a 30-foot radius.

A water jell linear explosive is also being used to blast through brush and other undesirable vegetation. These come in 90-foot reels of blasting line that are detonated by a plunger. It blasts a 14-foot clearance wherever the blasting rope is laid. This is also used for site preparation. In this case, site preparation means clearing fire trails around cut-over areas so they can later be burned by hand or by Helitorch.

THE MILITARY BREAK-through that never made it to the last war is scheduled for the forest in 1982. It is called "Helistat." Farnum Burbank, development engineer in the USFS equipment development bureau in Washington, D.C., described Helistat as "a helium balloon 100 feet wide and 300 feet long. It is maneuvered by four helicopters, one of which is manned. The other helicopters are driven by remote control. It can carry a 25-ton load."

The Navy and the Forest Service are developing Helistat cooperatively. The Forest Service intends to use it for hauling logs out of hard-to-reach places that are the last bastion of the nation's virgin forests. The Navy wants it, said Burbank, for off-loading ships where there are no good docking facilities. It would enable the military to have access to any shore.

Each of these domestic uses of military technology is developed by defense contractors. The air-based Helistat is a product of Piasecki Aircraft. The water jell blasting line is put out by a division of Gulf Resources and Chemical and also DuPont Chemical. Singer Corporation, the sewing machine manufacturer, also makes anti-submarine warfare, electronic intelligence and Helitorch.

The Forest Service, which controls most of the forested public land in the contiguous U.S., is the prime user of military adapted forest technology. It develops some small-time technology in its experimental stations in Missoula, Mon-

55-gallon drums of napalm now clear national forests. 2,4,5-T is also used—except when officials are kidnapped by angry locals.

tana, and San Dimas, Calif.

Art Jukka, project director of the Montana station, said, "There are two ways we get ideas for new technology—internally, to solve a specific problem, or when the technology becomes available through an outside source such as NASA or the military." He explained that some projects are so sophisticated, politically "hot" or of significant national importance that they are handed over to the Department of Agriculture. Helistat is such a project, as is infrared surveillance of the forests by satellite.

This high-tech forestry means fewer jobs for forestry workers. With one pilot and a helicopter, the napalm-like Helitorch can burn as many targeted areas in one day as would take a hand crew (called "grunts") an entire season. The water jell explosive replaces a seasonal trail or slash crew. Helistat will replace an army of log truck drivers, heavy equip-

ment operators and civil engineers with one person who operates a huge balloon and four helicopters all alone.

The military technology also means more danger for the people who live in the forests. Guerrilla tactics are being used against the military technology.

Early this year, the national forest near the small town of Hoopa, Calif., was scheduled to be sprayed with 2,4-D. The Forest Service allegedly found 500 gallons of the herbicide mysteriously contaminated with lime. And the Forest Service reportedly had the assurance that the access road to the spray-targeted areas would cease to exist if they began to move equipment. In southern Oregon, Bureau of Land Management officials were kidnapped and made to sign promises that they would not spray. In a remote area of northern California, rifle mounts were found surrounding a private timber company's spray-targeted area.

While legal channels are pursued to halt forest spraying activities, posturing on the side of both the Forest Service and the forest dwellers escalates. The mountain people take it seriously. Many own guns for hunting and explosives for mining. Many are Vietnam veterans.

Since Helitorch, Helistat, water jell and propylene oxide explosives are still experimental there is little opposition organized against their use.

But this past spring, with organized legal opposition, the threat of more sabotage, pressure from the Native American Heritage Committee and an urgent word from the California governor's office, the Forest Service backed down from using military defoliation technology in California. Zane Grey Smith, Regional Forester for the state, said in response to this temporary herbicide halt, "I don't want to force anything."

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